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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

The Catholic Church And the Workers

Fifth Article in Series

By Harold E. Fey

The 'New' State Department

By Oswald Garrison Villard

Dr. Niebuhr in Chicago

An Editorial

Retrospect

An Editorial

15 Cents a Copy • December 27, 1944 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

HAROLD E. FEY

is field editor of The Christian Century. Research for the series of articles on "Can Catholicism Win America?" has covered more than two years, and has been conducted with the aid of many Roman Catholic authorities.

THE COMMISSION OF THEOLOGIANS

from whose report on "The Relation of the Church to the War" the excerpts in this and the previous issue have been taken, was made up of those listed in this column last week. The complete report of the commission can be obtained from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

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writes regularly for The Christian Century. For many years he edited the *Nation* and the *New York Evening Post.*

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The Index

Only those who have wrestled with the problems caused by drastic curtailment in the use of paper because of war needs can realize the satisfaction with which The Christian Century presents the index of its 61st volume. Not to indulge in too much self-congratulation—because no paper ever has a right to be fully satisfied with the way in which it discharges its responsibilities — we nevertheless believe it to be true that a careful study of the index published in this and the June 28 issue will show that few developments of importance during 1944 in the church world or in the fields of politics, economics and social change escaped consideration in the pages of this journal.

The Christian Century

December 27, 1944

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Calendar of Coming Events

Dec. 28. Holy Innocents Day.
Dec. 28, 29. Ohio Education Association, Columbus.
Dec. 28-30. Christian Unity Conference, Washington, D. C.
Dec. 29. American Society of Church History and American Historical Association, Chicago.
Dec. 29-Jan. 3. Methodist Conference on Christian Education, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 31. Covenant Watchnight Service, Methodist Crusade for Christ.
Dec. 31. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Harry A. Overstreet and Bonaro Overstreet, speakers.
Jan. 1-4. Disciples Ministers' Institute, Enid, Okla.
Jan. 5. North American Conference on Church Architecture, New York.
Jan. 5-8. Annual Meeting, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Toronto, Can.
Jan. 6. Epiphany.
Jan. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Maurice Hindus, speaker.
Jan. 7-14. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 8-12. Annual Meeting, Home Missions Council of North America, Atlantic City, N. J.
Jan. 10. East-West Association, Chicago; Krishnalal Shridharani, speaker.
Jan. 11. St. John's Lutheran Church Forum, Richmond Hill, N. Y.; Ralph W. Sockman, speaker.
Jan. 14. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.
Jan. 14. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Walter H. Judd, speaker.
Jan. 15. Chicago Tract Society.
Jan. 16-19. Study Conference, Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, Cleveland, O.
Jan. 19-21. Race Relations Institute, Cleveland, O.
Jan. 28. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Ray Josephs, speaker.
Jan. 28-Feb. 4. Annual Protestant Youth Week.
Jan. 29-Feb. 1. Ohio Pastors' Convention, Columbus.
Feb. 2. Candlemas.
Feb. 5. International Council of Religious Education, Columbus, O.
Feb. 7. East-West Association, Chicago; Edward Carter, speaker.
Feb. 11. Race Relations Day.
Feb. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; Scott Nearing, speaker.
Feb. 14. Ash Wednesday.
Feb. 16. World Day of Prayer.
Feb. 18. Day of Prayer for Students.
Feb. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Erika Mann, speaker.
Feb. 18-25. Brotherhood Week.
Feb. 25. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Luigi G. Ligutti, speaker.
Mar. 4. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
Mar. 12. Fellowship Forum, Philadelphia; A. Philip Randolph, speaker.
Mar. 25. Annunciation.
Mar. 25. Palm Sunday.
Mar. 30. Good Friday.
Apr. 1. Easter.
Apr. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jerome Davis, speaker.
May 10. Ascension Day.
May 13. Mother's Day.
May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

MOST commentators and the public generally have missed the significance of the new landing on the Philippine island of Mindoro. It would have been impossible to make such an advance had not American air superiority been established throughout the central part of the archipelago.

Future of Philippines At Stake in Mindoro

While General MacArthur's communiques have sometimes exaggerated the achievements of the forces under his command, it is obvious that the establishment of an advanced air base on Mindoro will cut the islands in two and neutralize Japanese forces in the southern Philippines. Manila, the center of Nippon's naval and air strength, is now within 150 miles. That is why the Japanese command may be expected to throw every available ship and plane into an effort to annihilate the Mindoro invasion force. In this case it should be borne in mind that the strategic advantage will rest with the Japanese navy. Now it is our ships which will be compelled to traverse the tortuous waters of the Sibuyan sea while the Japanese can maneuver in open water west of the Philippines. Nevertheless, it is hardly likely that the Mindoro army would have been committed had MacArthur not been reasonably sure its supply line could be kept open. If his audacious new thrust succeeds in its purpose, the recovery of the Philippines is assured, however long and bloody the remaining struggle may be.

Japan Eases China Drive To Counter Americans

REPORTS of Chinese victories are so unusual that they require examination. When Japanese troops apparently headed for Kweiyang suddenly stopped and retreated toward their newly won lifeline connecting central and southern China, Chungking immediately claimed it had defeated the armies of Nippon. The true explanation is probably to be found in the intensification of the American campaign in the Philippines. Mindoro is less than 750 miles from the south China coast. The commanders of Hirohito's continental armies must now become alert to see what the outcome of the Philippines battle will be. Meanwhile they dare not commit too many of their men in a westward drive in China when a more formidable foe may land in the east. Unfortunately, this postponement of imminent disaster has had the effect of making worse Kuomintang-Communist relations. When it appeared that China might soon be knocked out of the war, Marshal Chiang gave his cabinet a long needed shake-up and Yenan offered its help if given representation in the government. On this basis, it was reported, a formula for unity had been achieved. But this optimism proves to have been premature. The moment the Japanese pressure was lifted even slightly, negotiations hit another snag. It developed that Marshal Chiang had only "agreed in principle" to Communist representation in the cabinet and that the Communists were not satisfied with mere representation in the government. Instead they demanded the formation of a coalition government for all of China and a joint military command. Now the world is informed via the Yenan radio that all the negotiations have not "attained the least result." Mao Tse-tung, Communist party chairman, has called on "democratic patriotic movements" in Chungking-controlled areas to "rise as one man to demand that the Kuomintang authorities should change their present policy so that a democratic coalition government can be set up." All of which seems to indicate that the war against Japan is the first order of business in China only when the Japanese are advancing.

Greek Crisis Continues

PASSAGE of another week sees solution of the crisis in Greece still to be found. The war between the British and the Greek ELAS partisans continues. In fact, the Greek crisis may now be said to have produced two struggles where a week ago there was but one. The first is of course the continued fighting in Athens. Day by day rumors of negotiations, proposals and counter-pro-

posals, all looking toward some kind of armistice, blossom in the press. And day by day the various "lulls" reported are followed by new outbreaks of savage warfare. Casualties are said to be running into the thousands, and although the censorship does not allow an entirely clear picture to reach the outside world there is good reason to believe that the British troops have their hands more than full inside Athens, while the control of most of the rest of Greece, including the key port of Salonika, is in partisan hands. The other struggle is the defensive battle which Mr. Churchill has been waging on the floor of Parliament. Despite the vote of confidence which he wrung from the House of Commons when the crisis first arose, and despite the timidity with which the Labor party handled this ticklish issue in its annual congress, Mr. Churchill appears to realize that he has lost the support of a great portion of the British public, as well as of most of the United States. So he is making almost daily speeches in defense of his course, and it is reported that he may appeal to the world by radio for understanding. Up to the present, the prime minister's speeches have convinced few doubters. Meanwhile, Dr. Göbbels gloats. The British intervention in Greece to prevent a "communist" government's coming into power, he proclaims, proves the basic contention of nazi propaganda that without a National Socialist Germany as a bulwark, Russian pressure will drive the entire European continent into the abyss of communism.

British Deny Reports of Ethiopian Fighting

A BRITISH military spokesman, while admitting that English troops are doing police work along the Ethiopian-Somaliland frontier, last week denied that there has been any fighting between those troops and the regular Ethiopian forces. Rumors current in this country claimed that growing irritation between the Ethiopians and the British had finally led to open warfare in the provinces of Ogaden and Harrar. Such rumors had been received with reserve, for they had been given their widest circulation by Drew Pearson, a newspaper columnist who is not always an unimpeachable source. There will be general satisfaction in this country to learn that the rumors are not true. The situation is bad enough in Europe without having our British allies involved in another war with a "liberated" people in Africa. However, that the stage is being set for future trouble in Ethiopia is indicated by recent disclosures in the House of Commons. In reply to questions asked by A. Creech Jones, Labor M.P. who specializes on colonial matters, Richard Law, speaking for the foreign office, gave some revealing figures as to the number of British advisers now stationed in Ethiopia, and the status of loans made by the British government to Haile Selassie. According to Mr. Law, in return for loans to the Ethiopian emperor of £3,250,000 (from which the emperor must pay the expenses of the large British military mission) the British government has taken as security the Djibuti-Addis Ababa railway. Haile Selassie, Mr. Law stated, is demanding the return of the railway, which so far the British have shown no intention of giving up. It is, we repeat, good to know that there has been no open warfare between the British and the Ethiopians. But this dispute over a railway is precisely the sort of issue, as the history of imperialism has shown, out of which the most serious trouble often develops.

Gains and Losses on European Fronts

A SERIOUS German counter-attack, the first of major proportions since the landing in Normandy, has made considerable headway against General Hodges' 1st army and is still unchecked at the moment of this writing. The area affected is that portion of the front lying immediately south of Aachen and facing the Cologne plain. Heavily armored German divisions, supported by more German planes than have recently been seen together at one time, have forced the Americans back in Luxembourg and Belgium along a line of several miles. This bold drive is evidently designed not only to counteract the direct thrust of the 1st and 9th armies toward Cologne but also to frustrate what might—and may yet—develop into a movement to flank the Saar district by an advance northward along the Rhine from the "Karlsruhe corner" where the American 3rd and 7th armies, having virtually cleared the Germans from Alsace, are in a position either to cross the river into Bavaria, as they and the French have done at two or three points, or to turn north behind the Saar. The German counter-attack is evidence that, in spite of the tremendous bombings that have been given to industrial targets and railway centers, the resources of the enemy are far from exhausted. On the eastern side, the Russian lines, still nearly stationary on the borders of East Prussia and in the Warsaw area, have made significant advances in the Budapest sector to the point of threatening the Hungarian capital with imminent occupation.

Conscience Gains A Legal Right

CONSCIENCE makes problems for the interpreters and enforcers of law, and conscientious objectors to military service are not the only ones whose consciences require consideration. The *Watchman-Examiner* reports a case which had not previously come to our attention. It has to do with an orthodox Jew in Cincinnati who is unemployed because his religious convictions prohibit him from working on Saturday. He brought suit against the Ohio Unemployment Compensation Bureau which had rejected his application for compensation. The local court held that he was within his rights in making the demand. Judge Joseph H. Woeste, of the court of common pleas, declared that "an applicant who is a member of a religious faith and who observes Saturday as his Sabbath and claims benefits under the law must not be deprived of such if it is clearly evident that he is a conscientious observer of his religious tenets." One is of course tempted to ask whether, in a time of such manpower shortage as the present, there were not available jobs which would not require Saturday work and whether, as a matter of fact, it is necessary for a man to be un-

employed all the rest of the week because he cannot conscientiously work on Saturday. The administration of unemployment compensation always involves questions of a similar nature, and it is to be assumed that the court had all the necessary evidence in this case and took it into consideration. So attention can be focused on the one important fact that conscience had its day in court and got its rights recognized—and that is always good news.

Sees Threat to Negroes in Peacetime Conscription

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER is widely regarded as the most brilliant Negro journalist in America today. In a recent column in the *Pittsburgh Courier,* most read Negro newspaper, Mr. Schuyler launched a blistering attack on the proposal for peacetime conscription. He dealt with that proposal only as it would affect members of his race. According to Mr. Schuyler conscription would so operate as to thrust Negroes who have moved north to escape from the south's segregation system into another species of segregation even more sharply defined. "The more jimcrow institutions we have," wrote this Negro columnist, "and the more people are subjected to them, the worse the race relations will grow in this country. Compulsory military training will mean that every American boy—regardless of color or place of origin—will be drilled in the color caste system. One can imagine the effect on plastic minds." Behind this expression of fear lies the bitter experience which Negroes have had with the draft during the war. The segregation enforced in both army and navy has become a burning topic in all Negro communities. It is only natural that the same segregation would be the expected portion of Negroes in a national system of peacetime conscription. With churches, educational bodies, important sections of organized labor and now the Negro lining up against a peacetime draft, no wonder reports from Washington state that the conscription forces admit their legislation must be pushed through Congress in the first weeks of the new session if it is to pass at all.

UNRRA Refuses to Enter The War in Greece

FOOD is the latest casualty of war in Greece. The directors of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration have left the country because they were prevented from administering relief on a non-partisan basis. "We feel obliged to disassociate ourselves from the Allied force headquarters," they said, because they found themselves "in unavoidable association with an organization of force and discrimination." They left behind them warehouses containing stores of food mainly American in origin "and paid for by the United States" to which the ELAS declared they had as much right as the British garrison which is using them. How long these supplies can be kept from the republican forces is therefore in doubt. Concerning the correctness of the action of the UNRRA directors, however, there can be no doubt. They protested in the only way left open to them against an attempt by the British commander to divert from their rightful use food and medicines which were intended for the people of Greece. Even the nazis had not done this with Canadian wheat distributed by the Red Cross when they were in control of that country. It will be difficult for the Greeks, who are dependent on supplies from abroad for their existence, to understand the meaning of "liberation" under the present circumstances. Nor will they find illuminating the attack on UNRRA by a British lord, who referred to it as a "muscle-bound colossus" and wanted to know why its huge stores of food were not reaching the people for whom they are intended. Let him ask Mr. Churchill.

Court Holds Detention Of Japanese Illegal

THE CONSTITUTIONAL rights of racial minorities in the United States were the subject of three important rulings handed down by the Supreme Court on December 18. The first found the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen guilty of a breach of duty for discriminating against Negro firemen on 21 southern railroads. Since the union had been legally designated as the bargaining agent for firemen, it had been guilty of "economic cruelty against colored citizens" in barring them from membership in the union and thus from employment on the railroads, it was held. The plaintiffs were awarded damages and their further disbarment from work forbidden. This ruling is expected to create repercussions throughout the nation and particularly in the south. It will especially disturb the A.F. of L. unions, which have more generally practiced racial discrimination than the C.I.O. The second and third decisions of the Supreme Court concerned cases brought by Japanese Americans. An American woman of Japanese ancestry was freed unconditionally from a relocation center, the court holding that the government has no power to detain loyal citizens, regardless of their racial origins, who have not been guilty of crime. Having rendered this unanimous decision, a majority of the court then contradicted itself in upholding the conviction of Fred T. Korematsu, another Japanese American, who had refused to obey the army's evacuation order. Six justices ruled that Japanese Americans were not excluded because of racial prejudice but as a security measure. Justice Roberts' dissent declared that the evacuation was "a clear violation of constitutional rights," and said that Korematsu was convicted "as a punishment for not submitting to imprisonment in a concentration camp, solely because of his ancestry, without evidence concerning his loyalty." These decisions followed by one day the lifting of the army's exclusion order barring Japanese Americans from the west coast states. Taken together, they leave the constitutional issue involved in the 1942 evacuation exactly where it stood before they spoke. They do not touch what Justice Murphy referred to as the "unconstitutional resort to racism in the entire evacuation program. . . . Racial discrimination of this nature bears no reasonable relation to military necessity and is utterly foreign to the ideals and traditions of the American people." When the texts of the court's judg-

ments and especially of the dissenting opinions become available, they will undoubtedly require further comment. Justice Murphy's statement may prove to rank with the famous dissents of Brandeis and Holmes.

Dr. Niebuhr in Chicago

PROFESSOR REINHOLD NIEBUHR has completed a series of lectures at the University of Chicago on the general subject, "Changing and Unchanging Elements in the Human Situation." An audience of from 350 to 400 persons—students in large numbers, professors by the score, ministers from all parts of the city and many thoughtful laymen—gathered on six successive Wednesday afternoons to hear him expound the Christian view of man, of the world, of God, of Christ, of sin, of faith and the meaning of human existence in contrast with the naturalism, the pragmatism, the moralism, the utopianism and the scientism which have taken possession of the mind of modern man.

To sit through these lectures was an exciting experience. Dr. Niebuhr has a manner all his own. He speaks in a quiet voice. His sentences are usually long. He has a grateful habit, however, of sometimes stopping dead still for two or three seconds in the midst of a long sentence as if to give you time to catch up before he rolls the rest of it out in a heap in your lap. His gesticulation etches figures in the air which neither geometry nor art could ever capture. But the motions are neither irrelevant nor diverting. They are as genuinely interpretative as they are fascinating.

During his stay at the university for the delivery of these weekly lectures on the Alexander White foundation, Dr. Niebuhr was kept more than busy with countless other demands for conferences, seminars, forums, lectures and sermons in the university, the city, numerous theological schools, and over week ends in distant cities. It is not too much to say that no recent visitor to the campus of the university has left so deep an impression upon the academic community. He opened up and led the way into a dimension of human life in whose reality many of his hearers had ceased to believe and of which some, alas, had never heard.

Dr. Niebuhr seemed fully aware of the significance of the place in which he stood. It was on this campus that the philosophic movement which has swept over the entire scene of American culture and education took its rise. Here, fifty years ago, there gathered around Professor John Dewey a faculty of philosophers and psychologists whose common outlook and point of view won distinction throughout the world of thought as the "Chicago School." It permeated all departments of the university, including the divinity schools, and spread through the entire educational system of the nation. Under the label of liberalism, it profoundly influenced the thinking of the clergy and the methods of religious education.

In his opening lecture Dr. Niebuhr confronted the tradition of the place by frankly setting the view of life which he intended to expound in sharp contrast with that of Professor Dewey. Throughout his series he kept this contrast vivid as he undertook to show the superficial character of a "naturalistic" philosophy which reacted to the very words "sin" and "faith" with "uncomprehending fury." Yet those who have heard Niebuhr over many years sensed something in his presentation which was not so evident in his earlier manner. A certain mellowness had come into his most trenchant criticisms. He was determined to be fair, to make concessions as to the permanent values contributed by the liberalism and modernism whose philosophy of a cosmic flux he was combating. It was only the claim to finality and sufficiency on the part of this philosophy which he desired to expose, while he brought to bear the profounder insights of Christian faith upon nature, human nature and history.

Difficult as it may be for those whose mentality has been molded by the natural sciences and the prevalent philosophy to follow Dr. Niebuhr, or even to understand him, it is not too much to say that they are the only ones who can fairly understand him. Orthodox folks who have never been vitally touched by the spirit of liberalism often hail Niebuhr as a champion of orthodoxy. They are both right and wrong. He does indeed come out on the side of the historic Christian faith. But he comes out by a quite unorthodox path. Both Roman Catholic orthodoxy, which rests upon an authoritative church, and Protestant orthodoxy, which rests upon an authoritative Bible, Niebuhr rejects. He arrives at his orthodoxy by direct insight into human nature and history, an insight which is prompted and directed by his believing faith in the historical Christian revelation. His orthodoxy is therefore biblical but not bibliolatrous. But it is also the orthodoxy of a free mind, unbound by any external authority.

His criteria of truth are much more akin to those of liberalism than to those of orthodoxy. And his battle with liberalism can therefore be waged on the field which liberalism itself has prepared and with the weapons which liberalism has forged. He is, in truth, a radical empiricist, if there ever was one. The gravamen of his charge against liberalism is that it is neither radical nor empirical enough. He could never have arrived at the vital orthodoxy which his teaching reflects had his mind been bound by orthodox premises and presuppositions. And he could not have arrested the attention of an academic community as he did in Chicago had he approached it in terms of orthodox premises. Nor could he have aroused the attention—much of it furiously hostile—of scientists and scientific philosophers as no exponent of the Christian faith has done in our time had he not had much common ground with them in respect to the criteria of truth.

Dr. Niebuhr's extended visit to Chicago will have as its minimum result a new appreciation of the dignity and the intellectual respectability of the Christian faith. One need not be a docile subscriber to all his conclusions to say that in him the American church has produced a mind of the first order. True, he does not stand alone. But he stands out among all those thinkers whose general outlook he shares as the most original and creative mind in the contemporary church. His work will mark the place at which a new direction, certainly a new depth, was

given to Christian thought. Perhaps also it will mark the place at which the mind of science and the mind of Christian faith enter together the too long deferred era of mutual understanding.

Retrospect

ANOTHER year is ending in blood and tears and disappointment. The high hopes for an early peace which millions treasured at the year's opening have not been fulfilled. Military victory in Europe is not yet won. The steady advance of American forces in the Pacific has not yet reached, much less breached, the main Japanese lines of defense. All over the world the toll of death and destruction keeps mounting. And the American people, who have already suffered losses more than twice as great as those sustained in the First World War, are being told that there is no quick end of the war in sight, but that they may have to fight on for years. As to the ultimate victory there can be no question. But all plans for an impending return to the industries and arts of peace are, as the year closes, being laid aside. "The war," writes the military expert of the *New York Times,* "is still to be won; the battles of decision are still to be fought, and a bloody and, probably, a long road still lies ahead." It is a sobered nation which will mark these closing hours of 1944 and the dawn of 1945.

I

The story of the military operations of the year now ending has been one of remarkable achievements and rapid advances for the Allies on many fronts. But there have been no final victories.

The Russians, by a series of powerful thrusts, have knocked Finland out of the war, cleared the eastern half of Poland of the German armies, swept through the Balkans to force a German withdrawal from Bulgaria, Greece and Rumania and to link up with the forces of Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia. The Red armies now surround Budapest in Hungary and are reaching out toward Vienna and Slovakia, where they hope soon to effect a junction with the Czechoslovaks, with whom they now have an alliance. But a strange inactivity has descended on the Russian armies which for months have been poised for a direct assault on Germany across East Prussia and Silesia. So marked has been the failure of the Russians to advance on these fronts, especially at a time when the Allied armies in the west are in great need of all the diversionary help their Muscovite allies can give, that misgivings mount throughout America and Britain as to whether Stalin intends that his armies shall do more than gain and hold the political lines along which he means to have the Russian power planted at the end of the war.

Anglo-American forces in the European theater have known hours of spectacular triumph during the year, and other hours of bitter disappointment. British troops landed in Greece as liberators, only to find themselves involved in war against a large portion of the Greek partisan forces. In Italy the Allied armies, having freed Rome, slowly pushed their way northward but have not yet reached the line of the Po, and show small promise of being able to do so in the near future. There have been few more brilliant campaigns in all military history than the joint operations in France which opened with the landing on the beaches of Normandy in June and swept the Germans out of France and Belgium, and a part of Holland, by the end of August. Since then, however, the attempt to invade Germany from the west has been largely a series of frustrated hopes. The airborne invasion of Holland, greeted with such acclaim when the Allied paratroopers descended near Arnhem, ended in disaster. The grand assault launched in mid-November all along the Siegfried line has produced no decisive break-through. General Eisenhower continues to pound away, and the Allied press continues to talk about the exhaustion of German manpower. But something perilously akin to stalemate seems to be settling on the western front.

In the Pacific war, the military record of the year has been both good and bad. American naval forces, working in coordination with MacArthur's army, have occupied one island outpost after another in Japan's outlying defenses. As the year ends they are ashore in force on two of the principal islands in the Philippines, where a desperate battle is still raging. But the original expectation of rapid victory in that archipelago, as revealed by General MacArthur's communiques at the time of the landings on Leyte, has been dashed. Meanwhile China has been all but knocked out of the war. As the year ends the great question which overshadows the Pacific campaign is whether China can be saved as a fighting ally. If not, can Japan, even though subjected to shattering blows on her home islands, transfer her main forces to the Asiatic mainland and keep fighting there for years? The extent to which that question plagues the thoughts of Allied leaders is shown by their increasing anxiety as to whether Russia can be induced to enter the war in the Far East. If China is lost, without Russian intervention to provide bases for attack on Japan from the landward side the war in the Pacific may drag on for many years.

II

Hand in hand with the military progress of the war has gone the political struggle. The record of the year in this regard has been even less encouraging than that on the fighting fronts.

For one thing, the year has witnessed no attempt by the Allies to resort to political warfare on a grand scale by placing before the people of Germany the terms on which they may have peace. Instead, there came in September, after the Quebec conference between Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt, the tragic blunder of publication of the vindictive Morgenthau plan, which nazi propaganda was able to seize on to inspire the German people to a desperate, last-ditch defense of their homeland. And as the year closes, the shocking disclosure of differences of policy among the Allies in the treatment of those portions of Europe from which the nazis have already been driven, gives rise to the general fear that the real reason why there has been no publication of official peace terms is that the "United Nations" are

not yet united among themselves on what these should be.

The one great political achievement of the year has been the establishment of a relatively secure government in France under General de Gaulle. Elsewhere in Europe the political prospect has degenerated. The attempt of many exiled governments to return in the wake of the advancing Allied armies has served to reveal their lack of popular support. This has been the case in Greece, in Belgium, in Poland. The internal political situation in Italy has gone from bad to worse. It is too early to say what will take place in Holland when that country has been entirely freed. Outside Europe the record has not been much better. Only British bayonets are holding down the lid in Palestine. Renewal of the ancient rivalry between Russia and Britain in Iran brings promise of greater trouble yet to come in that tormented land. The organization of a pan-Arab federation at the recent conference in Cairo furnishes a warning, when taken in connection with the growing bitterness of Zionists and the growing competition among the powers for Arabian oil, that the Middle and Near East is moving toward greater rather than lessened tension. On the other side of the world, the year has witnessed the return of a free government to the Philippines. But in both China and India the political situation has deteriorated.

Meanwhile, to deal with the political problems of postwar Europe, both Russia and Great Britain have turned to the formation of great blocs by means of which they hope to establish a balance of power. In conversations at Moscow which followed the Quebec conference, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin in effect carved the Continent into two great spheres of influence. Russia, it was decided, is to have a free hand in Finland, the Baltics, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, probably in Yugoslavia and possibly in Hungary. England is to exercise paramount power in Greece, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, the Low Countries and Scandinavia. France has already begun to orient her future position toward this division of Europe by concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia. What disposition, if any, the British prime minister and the Russian leader agreed upon for Germany has yet to be made known. But the United States has been seriously disturbed by this return, on the part of its European allies, to the power politics which has become so discredited in the eyes of the majority of the American people. That misgiving registered, as the year was closing, in two sensational declarations issued by the American state department.

Throughout the year, two parallel efforts to deal with the postwar crisis have been pushed forward. The series of international conferences initiated at Hot Springs was continued at Atlantic City, Bretton Woods and Chicago in meetings which sought to lay the groundwork for the establishment of specialized bodies which would provide food, rehabilitation funds, banking facilities and aviation controls during the period in which the nations will be seeking to recover from the ravages of the war. In the same way, the conference at Dumbarton Oaks drew up a proposed charter for the "general international organization" which had been pledged in the Moscow declaration of 1943. As the year ends, however, it must be acknowledged that both in England and in this country there is widespread dissatisfaction with the outcome of all these conferences, and growing misgiving with regard to the practical results which will flow from them. Nor can the Russian attitude toward them be described as anything but ambiguous.

III

In domestic affairs, the United States has seen all its activities subordinated during the year to the winning of the war. This proved to be the determining factor in the national election, just as it has been in the consideration of all domestic legislation. Reassurance as to the innate strength of the republic was found by thoughtful citizens in the stability with which the nation passed through the storms of a bitter election. The most significant fact revealed by that election was the emergence of organized labor as a self-conscious and self-confident political entity.

But even though the eyes of the nation have been fixed on military developments in Europe and the Pacific, it has grown clear throughout the year that great issues are taking shape within the domestic body politic. Of these, undoubtedly the first in importance and difficulty is that of race. On the war record of the American people the blackest mark has been that of the treatment of American citizens of Japanese descent. There has been improvement in this respect during 1944, inspired to a large degree by the magnificent record made by Japanese-American battalions in Italy and in the Pacific. Nevertheless, the full story of the herding into concentration camps of Japanese-Americans, especially when viewed in the light of the consistent refusal of the nation to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment for the protection of the voting rights of Negro citizens, has shown that constitutional guarantees mean little for any American minority when they come into conflict with racial prejudices and passions. In this respect, 1944 has been a year of dark portent for the American future.

Throughout the year, likewise, relations between white and Negro Americans have been progressively deteriorating. There have been no such race riots as smirched the record of 1943, but the sense of mounting tension has been unmistakable. This has registered especially in the ranks of labor, where Negro anxiety with regard to postwar employment has produced a stiffening in attitude on the part of A.F. of L. unions in their determination not to allow Negroes full rights of union membership, a corresponding determination by C.I.O. leaders to see that Negroes are welcomed into their unions, and a pledge by both Democratic and Republican presidential nominees to make permanent the work of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. It has been in the army and navy, however, that this race issue has become most acute. Negro resentment against alleged discrimination in the armed services has mounted steadily. On both sides of this issue the growth of a sullen, bitter mood promises future trouble.

Another issue which has taken form during the year is that of a peacetime draft. Public opinion is now reported, by various polls, to favor such conscription. But

the issue has yet to be presented in definitive form. Church and educational bodies are already generally recorded in opposition. This may easily become the most explosive issue in American domestic life during the coming year.

A yet deeper issue, however, has begun to emerge in discussion of the nature of the postwar American social order. Apprehensions of another period of mass unemployment or of a repetition of the disastrous experiences of the twenties—a quick postwar boom followed by a long economic collapse—have made some system of national planning seem necessary to millions of Americans. But in recent months this call for planning has begun to encounter the demand, How much? Suspicious as the public is of "free competition," and the use made of that slogan by big business interests, it wants none of the sort of planned regimentation which has been disclosed in Russia, Italy and Germany. Here is an issue which many Americans only began to perceive in 1944. It will grow in importance during 1945; it is likely to prove one of the nation's most basic and insistent issues for many years to come.

IV

The past year has not been one of great developments in the life of the churches. Nevertheless, it witnessed a number of events in the church world of considerable importance.

During the year, for example, there occurred the restoration of the Russian church to almost full freedom of activity. How far this was a political maneuver by the Kremlin, seeking to cement the support of its British and American allies, or a genuine change of heart on the part of Stalin toward the place of religion in a modern state, only time will tell. In Canada, the year was marked by the formation of the Canadian Council of Churches; in Britain, by the first official sessions of the British Council of Churches; in the United States, by cautious but measurable progress toward union of eight interdenominational bodies in the National Council of Churches of the U.S.A.

A growing sense of need to define the position of the Christian church toward fundamental contemporary problems brought the publication of theological reports by special commissions of the Church of Scotland and the United Church of Canada, of a report by a special commission of American theologians, formed by the Federal Council of Churches, on "The Relation of the Church to the War," of a declaration by the American hierarchy on the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the Dumbarton Oaks postwar proposals, and preparations by American Protestants for the holding of a "Second Delaware" conference early in 1945 to formulate a Protestant position on the same proposals. The pope continued to work throughout the year for a negotiated peace, but even those parts of the Protestant world which viewed his efforts in that direction with sympathy found in the political maneuverings of the Vatican a source of apprehension. Much discussion filled the closing months of the year on the relation of the church to the returning soldier, with no suggestion of readiness on the part of any considerable portion of the church to deal with the spiritual challenge of the demobilized veteran.

Across the entire Christian world a shadow fell as the year was passing with the sudden death of William Temple, archbishop of Canterbury. In all the leadership of ecumenical Christianity there seemed no one ready to take his place.

V

So the year comes to its end, and in myriads of thoughtful minds there is a sense of need for some better hope, both political and social, than any now being offered mankind. There is a sense, too, that this hope will not be forthcoming unless quickly some fresh, some braver, some wiser voice begins to speak. Once more the words of *Fortune,* quoted before in these pages, deserve to be heard: "The way out is the sound of a voice, not our voice, but a voice coming from something not ourselves, in the existence of which we cannot disbelieve. It is the earthly task of the pastors to hear this voice, to cause us to hear it, and to tell us what it says. If they cannot hear it, or if they fail to tell us, we, as laymen, are utterly lost." As 1944 closes, as 1945 opens, distracted, despairing men are listening for that voice.

VERSE

For a Colored Poet

HE had been wounded many times,
Both by intention and by chance,
And carried unobtrusively
The scars of man's intolerance.

Each time the lance or arrow struck,
He pulled the deeply buried prong
From out the wound, and rose again,
Bleeding into song.

ADELAIDE LOVE.

Triangle

IT sheered up against their love like a hot sea,
Like an invasion of lava
It scorched the simplicities of their life.
Two frail green wheat stalks, they withered
When War
Lusted with its enormous, detrimental kiss of flame.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Battle Dress

STEEL vests nor armored raiment, nor
Official dress shall close death's door.

Faith and prayer and grace will do
More than an enemy can to you.

Put on the armor of the soul:
God alone can keep thee whole.

GEORGE EDWARD HOFFMAN.

This is the fifth article in the series, 'Can Catholicism Win America?'

Catholicism and the Worker

By Harold E. Fey

NO PROGRAM for winning America to the Roman Catholic Church can hope to succeed which does not include an effort to convert millions of workers in industry to Catholicism. The American hierarchy has already begun to assemble its resources to achieve a dominant position in this most powerful of our population groups. Among our industrial workers Catholicism started with an impressive advantage over Protestantism. Its initial advantage is increasing with the passage of each new year.

I

During the present war large contingents of Protestants have entered industrial occupations for the first time. While a considerable number are likely to remain, particularly if production is maintained on a high level, a substantial proportion are certain to leave industry for other work when the war is ended. This will probably occur before they produce a religious leadership which is sensitive to their needs. But the position of the members of the Catholic Church is different. Descendants of the later waves of immigration from Europe, they have manned our factories for years. Through seniority their positions are more secure. They dominate the unions. The first asset of the hierarchy in its relation to American industry is therefore the large and long established population base provided by the sons and daughters of Catholic immigrants who settled in our urban areas, went into the factories and kept close to the church.

Another asset of the hierarchy is the belief on the part of considerable numbers of industrial workers that the Roman Catholic Church is their defender against exploitation. Often this belief rests on a foundation no more substantial than the idea that since the majority of workers are Catholic and the bosses often are non-Catholic, the workers' welfare depends upon maintaining an unbroken front against the employer through unions in which they elect their own Catholic officials for collective bargaining. Sometimes their confidence in the church receives a rude jolt from the anti-union activities of a Catholic employer, a labor-baiting parish priest or a fascist-minded Father Coughlin. Today however the knowledge is seeping down to working people that the Roman Catholic Church as such is committed to the idea that it is labor's right and duty to organize into unions, to develop cooperatives and other means of self-help. The voice of Leo XIII, the "pope of the working man," is no longer a thin cry echoing alone from the final decade of a rapidly receding nineteenth century.

The centralized organization of Catholicism provides another asset to the hierarchy. It is particularly evident in comparison with the fate of Protestant churches among urban workers. The rapid shifts of population within our cities present a problem with which a divided Protestantism cannot cope even in normal years. Great areas inhabited by people having a low standard of living have been abandoned by Protestant churches, which must either move to the suburbs or perish. (The store-front sects which rise in such areas cannot properly be called churches.) Catholicism keeps its churches and its parochial schools functioning in spite of alteration in the character of city neighborhoods. Catholic churches serve larger areas and bigger memberships. Parish lines protect churches from ruinous competition. An unmarried clergy and the celibate religious orders provide a ministry and a teaching staff which costs the church relatively little to maintain. So the poverty of the people does not present the impossible problem which it does to Protestant churches, with their smaller memberships, their higher costs, their sectarian competition and the leadership of a ministry whose worth is still generally measured by the churches by the money standards of success.

To win industrial America to Catholicism requires therefore a broad population base among the workers, a tradition of solidarity with laboring people and a system of organization which can function in the conditions of demoralization and semi-chaos in which much of our industrial process is currently conducted. These the hierarchy possesses. But they are not enough. At least three other things it must acquire before it has a chance to achieve its aim. They are a plan for social reconstruction which will introduce stability and justice in society and strengthen the position of the church at the same time, a social medium through which the church can modify and eventually change the culture of an industrial society, and instruments of warfare by which it can do battle with hostile ideologies which would overthrow the church if they are given an opportunity to do so.

The next article in this series will be devoted to the last of these points. The remainder of this one will deal with the Catholic plan for the reconstruction of industrial society and with the media now being used by the hierarchy for modifying our culture at this level.

II

The Catholic plan for changing the industrial order has three objectives: security, ownership and partnership. It is no accident that stability is its first requisite. Ownership for workers gives them a stake in society and partnership a share in the control of the industrial process. This plan is a composite created from the encyclicals of Leo XIII, Pius XI and Pius XII, supported by the American bishops' "Program for Social Reconstruction" of 1919. Its nearest parallel in modern economic organization is that provided by the plan adopted but never put fully into effect by Benito Mussolini in Italy as the "corporative

state." Catholics deny that this plan as conceived by the popes and the American hierarchy is fascism. Rather, they maintain that it will set up beside the mechanism of political democracy a method of achieving economic democracy.

The Catholic plan for a modern industrial society is not often stated simply. The most succinct description this writer has heard was given at a "Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems" held recently in Chicago. There the Most Rev. Francis J. Haas, former head of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and more recently bishop of Grand Rapids, outlined it in these words:

". . . Under this system all employers, workers, professional persons—all—would be organized. They would elect representatives from their respective industry or profession to deal for them, and these representatives with government representatives guiding them but not dictating to them would in actual practice operate the industry or profession. Thus the direction of the system would be tripartite. The representatives would be chosen from each of three categories—management, workers and government.

"Each industry. For example, all the personnel, employers and employees alike, in the textile industry would through their freely elected representatives and with the guidance but not dictation of government, determine wages, hours, prices in the textile industry and work together for its common good. The same would be done in steel, transportation, agriculture and all the rest. Finally, all the industries and professions would be linked together on a tripartite basis in a national body. This national body would be made up of representatives of management and workers from the industries and professions, with the government sitting with them as guide and friend and not as dictator. The purpose of this national parliament would be to maintain, so far as it can be done, proper balance in prices and wages among the various industries and professions."

III

Bishop Haas credits Pope Pius XI's encyclical "Forty Years After," which was issued in 1931 in commemoration of Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum,* with containing all these points. The present pope has carried the plan one step farther: he would have the same principle of representation used in setting up the controls for international economics. Some of the defects of the proposal, aside from the obvious one that the present directors of our capitalistic structure show no intention of sharing their control with labor and the popes suggest no method of taking it away from them, might be listed as follows: It makes little allowance for public ownership of economic processes which are natural monopolies. It minimizes the possibilities of the cooperative movement in production as well as in distribution. It displaces the wage system without offering a clear alternative. It would be impossible under our anti-trust laws. It might strengthen monopolies and cartels to the point where they would control all economic life. Nevertheless these defects should not obscure its points of strength, not the least of which is its recognition of the necessity of organization and its consequent strength as a propaganda device for use among American working people.

With this plan in mind for reconstructing the industrial order, the hierarchy examines its instruments for changing our culture into the corporative pattern it has defined as desirable and right. Its first recourse is, naturally, to the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The social action organization of this hierarchical organization is one of its most effective departments. For years it has been diligently and skillfully at work drilling into Catholics the social meaning of the papal encyclicals and the pronouncements of the American hierarchy. It has proclaimed from the eminence afforded by its Washington housetop the church's teachings on the family, private property, the just wage, labor-management committees, labor organization, social security and other economic issues.

IV

Through the education department of the N.C.W.C. these interpretations are fed into the curricula of Catholic schools, from the parochial to the university and seminary levels. Through the press department of the same organization they have been written into the news, the feature articles and the editorials of Catholic papers across the country. Through its lay organizations they are taught in thousands of discussion groups and on the radio. Its youth organizations department reaches hundreds of thousands of Catholic students. Its legal department drafts these principles into legislation and does what it can, which is considerable, to prevent enactment of measures in state or nation of which the hierarchy disapproves.

One of the most effective ways in which the social action department of the N.C.W.C. carries out the policies of the hierarchy for American industrial life is through its "Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems." This subsidiary organization holds high quality discussions on current social issues in the light of the teachings of the church. Its conferences deserve the title which they have been given: "traveling universities." About one hundred of them have been held since the establishment of this organization in 1922. They meet in the principal industrial cities and bring together, under the auspices of the church, teachers in the seminaries, labor leaders, employers, professors of economics, government experts and the best brains which the church possesses.

Each such conference is a strong stimulus throughout the region in which it is held for reconsideration of the social teachings of the church. This stimulus is directed especially to diocesan councils of men and women, to youth organizations and other groups. Their purpose, as stated in their literature, is "to penetrate the whole Catholic body. The chief aim in all the work with the laity is to train soldiers of Christ who in all their work, their unions, employers' organizations, farmers' associations, professional bodies, as also their life as citizens, will be apostles, as Pius XI terms them." The pamphlet which contains the above words ends with this significant sentence from Pius XI's famous encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno:* "With the assistance of divine grace, the destiny of the human family is in our hands."

In addition to these conferences, the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems also holds "Priests' Summer Schools of Social Action." These last four weeks, giving the priests a thorough schooling in practice as well as theory, and have been held in ten dioceses. Perhaps the most spectacular work of this department has been the two National Catholic Congresses on Social Action, held in Milwaukee in 1938 and in Cleveland in 1939. The former was sponsored by Archbishop Stritch and was attended by 35 bishops, 750 priests and "many thousands" of laymen. It held five general and 17 sectional meetings and thoroughly overhauled the American social structure while it was in process. A clergy conference followed in which several hundred priests discussed their responsibility for social action in their own parishes.

The social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference not only stages the conferences on industrial problems but has three other major responsibilities: rural welfare, international relations and citizenship. Its industrial program might be seen in the recommendations of the Milwaukee congress. As presented by Bishops O'Hare and Alter, the programs laid down by this Catholic congress asked for: stable employment, protection for workers displaced by machines until work can be found, work for all at a wage providing a family living income, labor to share in profits and in management, private property for all, collective bargaining, a minimum wage, the creation of new wealth so it can be distributed to all, decent housing for every family, a Christian social order organized on the basis of self-governing industries and professions. This, it was said, will help to establish justice and promote peace. But men must accept the full teachings of Christ to know fully what peace is.

V

The contribution of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference to the development of Catholic social thought is described in Monsignor John A. Ryan's autobiographical book, *Social Doctrine in Action*. Monsignor Ryan has been the head of the department since its formation in 1920. He is doubtless right in his estimate that nothing the church has done has been as effective an instrument of social education of Catholics during this period as has this N.C.W.C. department. His own share in the development of Catholic social thought has been of primary importance. Associated with him from the beginning has been Father R. A. McGowan, whom Monsignor Ryan credits with carrying the main burden of the N.C.W.C. department. Monsignor Ryan has done much writing, including a considerable share of the 150 pamphlets and books published by his department. He formerly appeared frequently on the same platform with Protestants when a common front was possible. Bishop Francis J. McConnell of the Methodist Church still remembers that in 1919, when he was under hot fire after the publication of his famous report on the steel strike, Father Ryan took the trouble to write him one of the few encouraging letters he received.

Some of the reasons why Monsignor Ryan may be seen less frequently today with Protestants appear in his autobiography. They mark the gradual retreat which has characterized his life. After espousing prohibition in substance if not in principle, he reversed himself and admits that he "made a considerable contribution" to repeal. He declares that he still "rejoices in my part in that achievement." He resigned from the American Civil Liberties Union national board in 1935 "simply and solely because the organization had gone into the field of academic freedom. I called attention to the absurdity, for example, of my membership on the national committee of an organization which might undertake to defend a professor at the Catholic University who has been discharged for teaching heresy." Earlier he had resigned from the board of the National Council for the Prevention of War because the board "over my repeated protests . . . decided to intervene in the controversy and conflict between the government of Mexico and the Catholic Church." He has always taken the official Catholic position against birth control.

These points are cited not to cast discredit upon an eminent Catholic who is also a great American. The record of his lifetime will stand as one of the most notable made in the Christendom of the western hemisphere in his day. But the gradual retreat forced upon Monsignor Ryan during his lifetime is of crucial importance in the effort of the church to win industrial workers. Each of his retreats was one in which it will seem to the non-Catholic observer that the welfare or freedom of humanity or the individual was sacrificed to the interest of the church as an institution. That American industrial workers are ready to sacrifice their heritage of freedom for the unproved securities of the church's economic leadership is doubtful.

The sixth article in this series, dealing with the relation of American Catholicism to communism, will appear next week.

VERSE

Christmas, 1944

WE PRAY for victory and surcease of strife,
For every brutal power to be subdued,
Our youth returned, our peaceful life resumed,
And all the good old ways of heart's desire.

And yet we hear the Spirit's higher call,
The angel song of peace, good will to men,
Rebuking comfort till we shape a world
Fitted for free and friendly sons of God.

THEODORE GERALD SOARES.

Consummation

WITH bloody wars the ages reek,
But ageless is the word
Of Him whom all the ages seek.
Said He, Put up thy sword!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

The Christian and the War

From the Report of the Federal Council's Commission on the War in the Light of the Christian Faith—Continued from last week

IT IS AGREED that the primary task of the church and its members is to bear witness incessantly to the judgment and mercy of God revealed in Jesus Christ, and thus to carry on through peace and war its ministry of reconciliation. There has long been difference of conviction as to whether in wartime this primary task calls for renunciation, by the church and its members, of all voluntary support of the military efforts of any belligerent group. This difference is represented among the signers of this report. To a far more profound and far-reaching concurrence among us both these paragraphs and the report as a whole bear witness.

Both renunciation of war and religious zeal for war have almost always been minority attitudes in the churches of modern times. During the present war, a further development seems to be taking place. Crusading enthusiasm seems to be much diminished, if not wholly lacking this time, among Christians. At the same time, in certain important respects Christians willing to fight in a just war and Christian pacifists have drawn closer together.

Many Christian pacifists are acutely aware of the monstrous dangers let loose upon the world by the Axis governments, the self-sacrificing heroism of men and women who are giving their lives in an effort to check the spread of such tyranny, and the inescapable ambiguities of their own moral and religious position in wartime. Especially in a social order which refuses them most natural outlets for their readiness to work in relief of war-made suffering, the shortcomings of the ways that remain open to them are kept constantly before their eyes. They act as they must under the dictate of conscience, seeking to be guided by God's will yet always conscious of their failure really to fulfill its demands.

No Wholly Just War

Many Christians who are willing to support one side in this war are no less clearly aware of the depth of evil both in the conduct of modern war on either side and in the national behavior on all sides which made this war at last inevitable and a stable peace after the war uncertain, the inadequacy of military victory in itself to bring nearer the Kingdom of God on earth, and the grave compromises into which Christians are forced in military service. They know, in short, that there is no such thing as a wholly just war, that decision to fight on either side is at best a choice among mixed evils in the hope of choosing the least. They also seek to follow the will of God in so choosing, but without exultation and often with heavy hearts. Under such conditions, there can be more profound mutual understanding and community among Christians of both groups, and better hope than ever before that both may contribute to the deepening and widening of the faith and life they share.

A majority of our members believe that Christian duty today is more adequately conceived by those Christians who voluntarily support the military campaign of the United Nations against the Axis powers. They are clearly aware that successful military action by itself can at best serve the subordinate end of breaking the present military and political dominance of the Axis governments in their own and in occupied lands. The larger ends sought, in terms of justice, freedom, human understanding and cooperation, require measures other than military force. Yet it seems to a majority of the commission that these ends cannot, in the actual world situation, be hopefully pursued without the use of military force and until full victory is achieved.

Conscience Must Function

For those who take the way of the soldier or civilian war worker, and participate voluntarily in active prosecution of the war, we believe there is need for unceasing effort to keep clear the Christian perspective with regard to God and men. We recognize the heartbreaking strains to which men in combat are subjected, and the extreme pressures that may be imposed on every man in military or civilian war service to subordinate all other considerations to the demand for victory. We are mindful of the profound dangers to individual Christian character in a system of military training and service in which many of the accustomed patterns of Christian conduct are replaced by training for ruthless efficiency in destruction. We are mindful at the same time of the vital need that the church and all its members resist any temptation to acquiesce in the displacement of the primary Christian goals and standards by any others, in the lives of its young men. Conscience cannot be adjourned in wartime without extreme damage to human personality now and to the chance for progress toward world community even in the distant future.

A minority of our members believe that Christians should in time of peace preach the renunciation of war, and in wartime follow the way of conscientious objection. The dangers of this course also are present to our minds. There is the always obvious danger of inward dishonesty, of spiritual laziness wearing the mask of self-sacrifice, of preference for personal safety above needed service to fellow men. There is the danger of self-righteousness and the unwarranted assumption of superior virtue. There is the danger that in seeking to serve the advance of community among men the conscientious objector may actually lose touch with the larger communities of which he is already a member, and serve the cause of isolationism instead of more vital world fellowship. We cannot ignore the immensely wide influence that present comradeship in arms will have upon future social, political and spiritual patterns of life. Besides all these risks to the integrity and actual influence of Christian pacifists, there is the

social risk that seems to their critics far more important: the risk that such decision as theirs, if practiced by large enough numbers of Christians, would prevent effective military action by the United Nations, and open the way to control of the world by the totalitarian powers.

No Course Wholly Good

Yet in spite of these dangers, a minority of the commission, and a proportionately lesser minority in the churches, are committed to the way of Christian pacifism. To them it appears that resistance to the spread of totalitarian modes of life can best be maintained by Christians who renounce voluntary participation in war, and devote their full energies to practicing as consistently as possible the ways of peace. They believe that widespread, consistent practice of Christian pacifism is the best way to proclaim now the church's gospel of reconciliation, and therefore the best way that Christians can help to extend the growth of community among men and nations, and the development of methods other than war for dealing with conflicts of interest.

There is no disposition among our members to weaken in any way the primary principle that every Christian is in duty bound to decide for that course which really seems to him right. At the same time, there is no disposition among us to hold that any course actually open to men of our day (or of any day) is wholly good. We are agreed that the objectively right course for any Christian in history is that course which actually will most contribute to, and least detract from, the manifestation of God's reign on earth. His duty as Christian is to choose and follow what seems to him to be that objectively right course, the course of his largest possible contribution, and his own conduct is morally right in as far as it does honestly seek to find and follow that way. His judgment as finite human being, however, can be mistaken as to the manner in which this greatest possible contribution might be made.

The 'New' State Department

By Oswald Garrison Villard

IT WAS most generous of Sumner Welles to praise so warmly the new appointees to the state department—that is, the new assistant secretaries and undersecretary. He is delighted with the speed and thoroughness with which the President reorganized the department as soon as Mr. Hull resigned. That such a violent purge was necessary is a sharp commentary upon the condition of the department under Mr. Hull, which was not referred to in the volume of laudatory articles which appeared about him. (In my judgment no public man in the last forty years has been as overestimated and overpraised.) One cannot, however, be honest and express enthusiasm over the appointment of Mr. Stettinius.

I am not like the left-wingers who are stirred by the fact that the new secretary was once chairman of the board of the United States Steel Corporation. I am not afraid that he will put any big business taint upon the department. What worries me is his total lack of knowledge in international affairs, of diplomatic procedure, of the law of nations. One of the ablest men in America in this field has just remarked to me that Mr. Stettinius' ignorance is "unbelievable." Mr. Stettinius has never had a reputation for brilliancy; he has been the familiar back-slapping type of man, strengthened by a fine presence, striking white hair and a most engaging smile.

President to be His Own Secretary

Undoubtedly this appointment means that the President intends more than ever to keep the control of foreign affairs in his own hands. Mr. Stettinius' rebuke of England in regard to Greece was, according to the *United States News,* dictated by Mr. Roosevelt himself. That is what we may expect. The President will find in his new secretary a most devoted and loyal subordinate, but in none of his appointments is there a promise that there will be an authoritative note struck by the department in the great realm of international law and international intercourse. It used to be considered essential that there should be in the department great lawyers, or students of diplomacy, like John Bassett Moore, and during those many years our government often made important contributions to the development of the law of nations. That has long since ended. There is nothing along that line with which the most enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Hull can credit him.

Indeed, the newspapers are stressing the big business character of the new regime. We are said now to have an up-to-date go-getter organization which will have quite as much of an eye on future business possibilities as on our relations with other countries. Of course, Mr. Grew is a valuable addition to the department's executives, and his appointment deserves high praise, even though the left wing press regards him as a dangerous appeaser because he has given his conscientious advice that it would be better to preserve the emperor of Japan than to destroy him. Certainly there is no one in the diplomatic service more fit to deal with the great problem of finishing the war with Japan which will confront us when the war with Germany is over.

Archibald MacLeish's retirement from the Library of Congress will undoubtedly inure to the benefit of that great institution, if the President chooses a professional librarian of high standing as his successor. For granted all his literary ability, ever since the war began Mr. MacLeish has seemed more interested in war propaganda than in his routine work. It is not at all impossible that he will do a useful job in supervising adequate publicity for the state department and its cultural overseas activities, which unquestionably needed a special head and direction. It must not be forgotten, however, that he was not a

success as the head of the first war information bureau, and was superseded by the appointment of Elmer Davis to the OWI.

As for Nelson Rockefeller, I am not aware how able an executive he is, but it is certainly a step forward if the functions of his Bureau of Inter-American Affairs are now to be put into the state department. I never could see why there should have to be a special bureau for this unless it was owing to a feeling that Mr. Hull was not competent to develop this very important branch of our wartime inter-American activity. Perhaps the explanation is merely Mr. Roosevelt's incurable desire to make two or three bureaus grow where one grew before. The work that Mr. Rockefeller has done is obviously directly within the province of the state department, and he will bring enthusiasm and energy to his task.

William L. Clayton's appointment as head of the economic division of the state department is the most surprising of all, except that of Mr. Stettinius. Undoubtedly Mr. Clayton has been an able and very successful cotton factor and has done well the jobs given to him in the government. Here, too, if the present separate Bureau of Foreign Economic Affairs is to be tied definitely into the department it will make for order and efficiency. The fundamental question remains, however, how far the state department should go into economic matters, into "dollar diplomacy," and whether that function should not be vested in the department of commerce, which for years maintained its foreign commercial attachés in our legations and embassies. Foreign trade has always been considered within its field.

As for the other two appointees, James C. Dunn is a professional diplomat of long departmental experience who will now be in charge of our relations with all countries except South America, while Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes is to be in charge of the administration and management of the state department.

Larger Appropriation Needed

One thing greatly to be hoped is that this new group will at least put the department forward along the line of adequate appropriations and sufficient personnel. The most important department of all, the state department has been the government's forgotten child. Army and navy, agriculture and all the rest have been able to get millions and millions from Congress, but neither Mr. Hull nor Mr. Roosevelt was interested in getting sufficient money even to supply the men upon whom such tremendous responsibilities are placed with the necessary books, magazines and other tools of the trade. There have not even been enough stenographers in the department, so that the correspondence has been neglected or dreadfully slow.

One of the outstanding criticisms of the Hull regime is the fact that, even when the war came in Europe, diplomats of every rank felt themselves absolutely cut off from Washington. I know one minister in a crucial position who sent as many as seven dispatches a day from the outbreak of the war. Two and one-half months later he had not had a single acknowledgment; he was working from fifteen to twenty hours a day and not one word of approval or commendation or criticism had ever reached him. That a complete inner reorganization is called for, plus the introduction of modern business techniques, goes without saying.

What a Secretary of State Should Be

If the new administration can achieve these things there will be profound reason for gratitude and the whole service will be encouraged and stimulated to better work. Nonetheless, the other side of the picture remains. What the state department needed at this time, in my judgment, is John Foster Dulles, a man of the highest integrity, great familiarity with international affairs by inheritance and experience and, what is most important of all, a truly Christian and peace-loving attitude toward international questions. He would, of course, not have been willing to be an errand boy, but he would have brought to the department the very things that it lacks most—a complete understanding and knowledge of American diplomatic history, a determination to do everything possible to abolish war and to bring about a sane international organization. But Mr. Roosevelt would be very unhappy to have such a man in the department, since he must always play the solo instrument.

Yet, whatever the disappointments of his reorganization, let us at least be grateful that the shocking weaknesses of the Hull regime have been ended and that Mr. Berle and Mr. Shaw and others are now finding new fields for their abilities. Whether the new men at the head of affairs will really reveal a liberal viewpoint to offset some of the conservative tendencies of the past depends of course primarily upon the President.

BOOKS

Live Issues in Education

AMERICAN EDUCATION UNDER FIRE. *By V. T. Thayer. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

THIS is a courageous book; it deals honestly with some of the major controversial issues in American education today. It is a wise book; it proposes solutions and remedies for these difficulties which are in accord with the best of our American tradition and heritage. It is an encouraging book; the reader will find his faith in the educational process renewed by it.

The first and smaller of the book's two parts sets the scene for the discussion of educational issues which comes in Part II. Here Dr. Thayer points out that the two Roosevelts, Theodore and Franklin, are exponents of two quite different interpretations of democracy. "Each . . . respects the integrity of personality and the work of the individual," Dr. Thayer comments, "but one would encourage the expression of worth and uniqueness with a minimum of intervention by others, and the second would use the agencies of society in order to foster the development of free personalities." The strongest chapter is "A Free Man's Faith," which calls for a renewal of confidence in the untapped resources of human personality, in the educability of people, in the act of work itself, in the capacity of human ingenuity to transform both man and the conditions under which he lives; and for confidence in man as primarily responsible for his own fate.

It is a stimulating chapter, dealing with basic items of faith that need to be reviewed and renewed from time to time.

In the second part of the book Dr. Thayer offers a series of chapters dealing specifically with contemporary educational controversies. He examines Dr. Hutchins' *Education for Freedom* and puts it aside in favor of the best that progressive education has to offer. "Despite their failures and mistakes, progressive schools have influenced contemporary education in two important respects. On the one hand, they have emphasized the need of an experiential basis for intellectual and abstract learning, and on the other, they have used the insights of mental hygiene and clinical psychology into the child's adolescent development to modify work within both the curricular and extra-curricular activities of the school."

The prospect presented in the chapter on "Religion and the Public Schools" may be realistic, but it is uncomfortably disappointing. Dr. Thayer sees no possibility that any basic elements of religion can be offered in the public schools in ways that would be acceptable to the diverse denominations as well as to the non-Christian and the non-religionist. He is not unaware of the weakness of our system of released time for church instruction but it is his belief that this is probably the only acceptable measure at the present time.

One wonders if this must be the final answer. Even with due regard for a minority, are we forced to dilute the program of public education to the wishes of the least common denominator? Can there not be gained an assent to a program of instruction in morality, character building *and religion* which would be acceptable, if not to 100 per cent, at least to 95 per cent of the participants? Can it be that out of the war will come a greater realization of the need for such a program?

Dr. Thayer finds himself lamenting the decease of the NYA and wishes it could have been supported throughout the war so that it would be prepared today for postwar emergencies. He thinks that the postwar educational world is certain to be in need of a "counseling and guidance service analogous to the service once furnished by the NYA." Regarding the choice of state versus federal control of education, he offers this wise compromise which many minds in education are coming to: "Were the federal government to encourage the organization of educational services for youth on a regional basis under broad general directives addressed to regional boards (composed in part of state educational officials from the states involved and in part of laymen possessed of public vision), a unique combination of federal and regional administration might emerge." Surely the trend of the moment is toward some kind of federal subsidy for education which should nevertheless be administered in large part, if not entirely, by local and state groups.

He answers the question so perplexing to liberals, "Shall we indoctrinate?" with "No—yet"; no forthright indoctrination, but let us offer a reasonable guidance and sense of direction which shall do no violence to the integrity of child nature.

Another chapter raises the question, "Shall Communists teach?" The honest liberal has faced the sorry dilemma of having to deny his own doctrine of freedom or having to aid others who will deny him the same freedom. Dr. Thayer reviews the evidence and offers this sane judgment: "It is not a belief in communism or fascism as such that renders [membership in the teaching profession] improper. It is rather the evidence at hand, beyond a reasonable doubt, that communist and fascist party discipline conflicts with and subordinates to its own ends the professional discipline of teaching."

All these are pertinent, lively issues in contemporary education. Dr. Thayer meets them squarely, attempts an objective analysis, and offers liberal and sane solutions. Even in cases where the reader may not give full agreement, he will be grateful for the raising of the issue. Teachers, administrators, ministers, public leaders, indeed all friends of American education will find these pages profitable reading.

Dr. Thayer is the noted educational director of the Ethical Culture School and leader of the Society for Ethical Culture of New York city. His experience is wide and inclusive: professorship at Ohio State, editorship of the *American Review,* chairmanship of the commission on secondary school curriculum of the Progressive Education Association. He is a humanist, setting forth that liberal, tolerant, generous humanism which the Ethical Culture Society has both preached and practiced.

Public thanks are due these days to Harper & Brothers for the long list of significant books on educational themes which they are sponsoring. Some are surveys of special experiments, like the New York regents' report; some are prophetic of things to come; some—and Mr. Thayer's volume is in this group—deal essentially with the present and its points of difference while indicating wise paths for an immediate tomorrow.

KENNETH IRVING BROWN.

Books Received

Economics Simplified. By E. E. Bowen and George L.Rusby. Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, 32 East 29th St., New York, $1.00. A rock-bottom and from-the-ground-up exposition of the facts and principles of economics, forming a basic textbook of the single tax theory. The nub of the argument is in the conditions that arise out of the private ownership of land and other natural resources, especially when there is a high degree of concentration of such ownership in the hands of a small minority of the people. This is now true in the United States to a greater degree than most persons realize. The price mentioned above is not stated by the publisher as the price of the book which, he says, "has already been paid for," but as the amount which the appreciative reader may send to finance its further circulation.

The Mastery of the Master. By DeWitt L. Miller. Brethren Pub. House, Elgin, Ill., $1.00. Thirteen chapters, which with only minor revision might be sermons, on those aspects of the personality and work of Jesus which made him Master and may help us to gain the mastery of our own lives. Even such a difficult topic as "the Master's return" the author handles with delicacy not to offend too much those who look for a spectacular second advent but also with an intelligent exegesis which should be a corrective of their fantasies.

What Doth It Profit a Man? By Vincent S. Stevens. Dorrance, $2.00. A definitely purposeful and edifying story of three college mates who set out to make their way in the world, two by service and one by getting money and power. The outcome is as one would wish, and could easily guess. The author, who was secretary of the Akron chamber of commerce for nearly thirty years, gives his own profession and his own initials to the character upon whom attention is chiefly centered.

Peter, The Adventures of a Chorister (1137-1937). By Sydney H. Nicholson. Macmillan, $1.75. This choir boy, "Peter," who seems to have lived for eight hundred years, is no Wandering Jew; he is merely the embodiment (or a generalization) of the generations of choir boys in English churches through these centuries. Nevertheless, in each particular appearance he is a very specific and concrete individual. The purpose, of course, is to delineate the life and services of choir boys at different periods within these centuries. This purpose is cleverly, entertainingly and successfully accomplished.

Many a Watchful Night. By John Mason Brown. Whittlesey House, $2.75. Lieutenant Brown, who wrote many books on the theater when he was a civilian and has written one earlier

one on the war since he became an officer in the United States navy, begins with D-Day and covers the first tense weeks of the Normandy invasion with narrative and description which go beneath the surface of events deep into the minds of the men most intimately involved in the action, and with vivid pictures. This is one of the more mature and thoughtful books dealing with the actualities of war.

Amerigo Vespucci, Pilot Major. By Frederick J. Pohl. Columbia University Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Peoples of the USSR. By Anna Louise Strong. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Pilgrim, An Anthology of Articles which have appeared in the "Cresset," published by the Walther League. By O. P. Kretzman. Concordia Pub. House, St. Louis, $1.50. Meditations of a cultured Christian who has observed the major trends of the times and the significant trivialities of nature and life, and has interpreted both in the light of man's continuing quests and highest goals. Dr. Kretzman is president of Valparaiso University.

The Little Jetts New Testament. By Wade C. Smith. W. A. Wilde Co., $1.50. A similar volume on the Old Testament, published a year or two ago, must have found buyers. The "little Jetts" are matchstick figures, generally drawn in groups and in thumbnail proportions, forming a series of cartoons to exhibit the action described or the emotion evoked by the verses which they accompany. Each page has a column of the New Testament text and a parallel column of cartoons. Appreciation of this sort of thing is a matter of individual taste and judgment. The drawings are cleverly done and most of them are amusing. It is this reviewer's opinion that they will be far more likely to arouse laughter, and of no very reverent sort, than to "promote a love for God's Word," which is the author's evident and declared purpose.

CORRESPONDENCE

Why Did Not All Reason Thus?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Possibly some of your readers may be interested in knowing something of the thinking back of the action of one denomination at Pittsburgh in voting to admit the Universalists into membership in the Federal Council of Churches. It was not without considerable thought and searching of heart that the Seventh Day Baptists took favorable action in the cases both of the Russian Orthodox Church of North America and of the Universalist Church of America. It took a second meeting of the delegates to arrive at a unanimous decision. The comments which were turned in with the vote will indicate some of the reasons found for their action. These follow:

With regard to the Russian Orthodox Church: In common with all Baptists we are far removed from the Orthodox Church in form of organization and in doctrine. We accept the Bible as our authority, and do not accept the authority of the "Fathers" and the "Ecumenical Councils" in the sense in which they do. However, we recognize the fact that the Federal Council is a federation of churches and not a union, that it is a council and not a body having authority over its constituent members in doctrine and belief, that as at present constituted it is composed of churches in America, and not of Protestant churches exclusively.

With regard to the Universalist Church: We vote to receive the Universalist Church because we believe that in making request for membership they express their belief in the Saviorhood of Christ, and because we do not find it in our hearts to deprive them, and us, of this fellowship. Neither do we find it in accord with our best judgment at this critical time in the life of the church to exclude them from participation with us in the tremendous tasks which if done adequately, or at all, must be done by all Christian churches working cooperatively.

Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y.
A. J. C. BOND, Chairman, Seventh Day Baptist Delegates.

The Application Was Authentic

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read with interest and appreciation your championship of the application of the Universalist Church of America for membership in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. We Universalists feel that the action denying us membership was "regrettable" for our sincere desire was to have a recognized part in the organized effort of Protestantism to make the religion of Jesus more effective in our world.

It is "regrettable" also to have the status of our application brought into question. Two years ago, at Cleveland, the application was withdrawn because of the technical point you refer to. It was prepared by a committee of the board of trustees of the Universalist Church by vote of authority from the General Assembly. The technicality was fully met in the present application. The following recommendation was voted at the General Assembly of the Universalist Church of America meeting in New York city, October 21, 1943: "We recommend that the General Assembly once again express desire for admission to full standing as a member of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and that the *application* for such standing as made by the Board of Trustees and its duly authorized Committee on November 2, 1942, be *given unqualified endorsement.*" The application had been read to the assembly. There was no "slip here" and the action was "orderly and authentic" though not unanimous. There is no question of failure to comply with all technicalities on the part of the Universalist Church.

St. Paul's Universalist Church, Chicago.
DONALD K. EVANS.

[This information fully disposes of the ground upon which the Episcopalians and the Baptists refrained from voting on the Universalists' application. It also resolves one of the ambiguities which our editorial pointed out. It is a pity that this information, fully authenticating the Universalists' application, was not available at Pittsburgh.—THE EDITORS.]

Universalists 'Belong' in Connecticut!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It may be of interest to the Federal Council to learn that one of its most esteemed state councils, Connecticut, gives Universalists full fellowship. And although the Universalist churches constitute but one per cent of the total number of Protestant churches in the state, a Universalist clergyman, Dr. Stanley Manning, has twice been elected president of the council and "worse still" the annual meetings of the council have, several times, been held in Universalist churches. As yet there have been no visible signs of the displeasure of God but, on the contrary, the work of the council has prospered exceedingly.

In perpetuating and accentuating creedal differences the council has "given aid and comfort" to the enemies of the church and made it ridiculous in the eyes of men of common sense and discernment.

Danbury, Conn. HARRY ADAMS HERSEY.

Why Northern Baptists Did Not Vote

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I greatly appreciate your editorial in the current Christian Century, its attitude, its understanding, and its discrimination. Certainly the matter was "infested with ambiguities." I do not think that the editorial really carries out its title, "A Regrettable Action," and I would hold with the editorial rather than the title. I happened to be secretary of the Northern Baptist meeting and our point of view is somewhat different.

I am taking the liberty of sending you the entire resolution

which our group adopted. It will illustrate, I believe, that our minds were very closely in accord with the position that you take in the editorial. Although we did not expressly request it, it was our hope that it might be presented to the Federal Council meeting, in order to make perfectly clear our reason for not voting. The resolution follows:

"The sole principle which should govern the acceptance of a denomination applying for membership in the Federal Council should be the acceptance by the applying denomination of the evangelical position of the Federal Council found in the preamble of its constitution and reading: 'The time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest the essential oneness of the Christian churches of America in Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Savior.'

"It is not clear, in the form in which the application comes to us from the Federal Council's executive committee, that the Universalist Church has as yet accepted the preamble of the Federal Council's constitution.

"Until the application of the Universalist Church clearly indicates the acceptance by that church of the preamble of the Federal Council's constitution, we the official delegates of the Northern Baptist Convention, consider that the application of the Universalist Church is not properly before the Federal Council."

Rochester, N. Y. HUGH CHAMBERLIN BURR.

[See the letter of Mr. Evans and our comment appended.—THE EDITORS.]

Our Ignorance of Unitarians

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I take issue with your statements in your editorial of December 13 with regard to the trend of theological thinking among the Unitarians. They reveal how little you know about the Unitarians. A cursory reading of the Unitarian pamphlets, magazines or books would show you immediately that Unitarians are not slowly drifting back into the evangelical Protestant fold.

To be sure, there are a few Unitarian ministers (very few laymen) who are convinced that the unitarian-trinitarian controversy was the result of a misunderstanding of the nature of language, the language of the doctrine of the trinity being mythological and having been taken as literal by the early Unitarian critics. But these men are not even a substantial minority in the church. The trend is not from unitarian Christianity towards evangelical, trinitarian Christianity. The trend is away from unitarian Christianity to a universal religion, drawing its inspiration from all of the great religions of the world. Since the 1870's the Unitarian Church has been a "free church." Where the Christian church is exclusive, the Unitarian Church has become inclusive, and liberal people of all sects, religions and classes find themselves equally at home in it. The foundation of the church is no longer its nineteenth century Unitarian Christian theology, but the Unitary Principle of Life, that we are all members one of another, that all religions have glimpsed the truth, that none is all right or all wrong, that regardless of differences or theological belief we must work together for the service of mankind upon the earth. This does not mean that Unitarians have rejected the Christianity out of which they sprang, but they have become more inclusive and reached a position in which the best in every religion may be used and served.

Community Church, DONALD HARRINGTON,
New York City. Associate Minister.

Baptist Liberty Upheld

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Southern Baptists are grateful to you for the candor with which you discuss their doctrines and practices. You have at least spoken plainly and unequivocally.

It seemed to some of us that your criticism of the Southern Baptist Convention for speaking millions of words without using the words "repentance" or "humility" may have been deserved. We have had too much boasting in the south and especially in Texas. Sometimes it seems that our departments of statistics tend to become bureaus of brag. God help us to be grateful for past progress while maintaining the spirit which says: "We are still unprofitable servants; we have not even done what it was our duty to do."

Your charge against us for entering California, however, is of a different character. We raise the question as to why it is wrong and reprehensible in Roman Catholics to pre-empt the territory of South America for themselves, while Protestant denominations here at home are right in claiming jurisdiction in cities, states and territories, and closing the door to all others. We call it religious intolerance and persecution when the Roman Catholics do it; yet it seems that Protestants are claiming the right and privilege of closing certain territorial doors to all other religious bodies.

Is authoritative ecclesiastical jurisdiction compatible with complete religious freedom? Perhaps this may explain why Baptists decline to enter into a federal union of the churches.

Hardin-Simmons University, E. B. ATWOOD.
Abilene, Tex.

The Army and Venereal Disease

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your editorial, "'Line of Duty' is an Elastic Line," greatly interests those of us very near the problem of venereal disease control. You may be sure that to us in the chaplaincy, as to many of those in the medical corps, the problem and this present new step often are "bitter absurdity" and we appreciate having your sympathy. Several facts should be added to your statements:

1. First and foremost, almost without exception, in the attack on venereal disease is the teaching of continence. Venereal disease control officers and chaplains speak everywhere to groups of men and this is the first line of defense.

2. The recently enacted legislation, contrary to your statement, does not drop "the idea of misconduct" though, as you state, because "concealment is bad because it prevents treatment" it does alleviate the punishment which leads to concealment. It should be stated that a man loses all of the time from his enlistment spent during his treatment for the disease. This is added to his enlistment time to be served, and the reason noted in his service record.

3. Notation is also made in his health record that this time missed for particular treatment was due to "his own misconduct" and not in line of duty.

There is no question as to the religious and moral implications of the prevalence of venereal disease. The disruptions of present society, not entirely results of the war, and the failure of those of us in the church to bring to bear Christian principles in practice must not be overlooked. However, to make distinction as to the crime against society between a service man who contracts venereal disease and any other person doing so, is an injustice which has been at least largely righted.

It is my own conviction that this new law will do little to affect the increase or decrease of promiscuity. It may assist in winning the war. Neither does it lessen our fight for the first line of defense—continence outside the marital relations of man and wife.

Coast Guard Barracks, HUGH M. MILLER.
San Francisco, Calif. Chaplain USNR.

An Order That Cannot Be Filled

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Please enter my subscription at once. Remittance enclosed. Be sure to start the subscription with the first article in the series by Harold Fey.

Depue, Ill. S. G. IRWIN.

[Sorry! The heavy demand for extra copies of the issues containing Mr. Fey's articles on "Can Catholicism Win America?" has completely exhausted our meager supply. The entire series, however, will be reprinted in booklet form. See announcement elsewhere in this issue for details.—THE EDITORS.]

C.C.F. Supports Mackenzie King

Canadian Socialist Party Endorses the Government's Policy—Houde Elected on Anti-Conscription Platform

(Correspondence from Quebec)

MONTREAL, Dec. 11.—During the recent critical parliamentary session, the eighth national convention of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, meeting in Montreal, adopted a 19-point federal election manifesto and gave full approval of the stand taken in the House of Commons on the conscription issue by M. J. Coldwell, who was re-elected national leader of the party. At a closed session, the delegates passed a resolution demanding "the immediate removal of all distinctions and discrimination between drafted and volunteer personnel; and total mobilization of all resources, material and financial as well as human." Many delegates condemned the practices of the Liberal and Conservative parties, which they said had used the people of Quebec for their own ends. Appeals were made by French speakers to consider the point of view of Canada and Canadians rather than of one section.

* * *

Convention Sees Future Opportunities

The convention called for voting privileges for 18-year-olds, appointment of a Canadian as governor general of the dominion and the socialization of all industries which "are monopolistic." Members of the executive council warned that at the end of the war Canadians will be faced with great opportunities and that the choice the people make in the next election will determine whether "we shall go forward to a new period of national development and social progress or return to the poverty, waste and stagnation of the prewar system."

* * *

Support Government On Draft

Both the C.C.F. and the Social Credit parties supported the government in the crisis, which ended with a 143-to-70 vote of confidence in the government of Prime Minister King. Members of the Progressive Conservative party opposed the measure. The climax of the two-week special session of Parliament came Nov. 29 when Col. Layton Ralston, who had been ousted as minister of national defense, indicated the intentions of the prime minister in a two-hour speech, then saved the government by announcing that he would not oppose the motion of confidence. "I was not asking for a change of government," he declared, "but I was asking for quick infantry reinforcements." Colonel Ralston's demand and public opinion have been met by the King government, which about-faced on the conscription issue with a promise to draft 16,000 of the home defense troops for service overseas. By so doing the prime minister has lost another cabinet member from Quebec, Maj. C. G. Power, minister for air, who resigned because he was opposed to conscription for overseas service.

* * *

Parliament Will Meet In January

Parliament is scheduled to meet again Jan. 31, but the session is expected to be a brief meeting for the purpose of officially proroguing the present session, which began last January. Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, new minister of national defense, will seek a seat in Ontario in a by-election, and as yet no successor has been announced for Major Power as minister for air.

* * *

Anti-Conscriptionist Elected Mayor

Camillien Houde was today elected mayor of Montreal, defeating Adhemar Raynault, who has held the office for two terms of two years each. Mayor Houde was four times elected chief magistrate of Canada's largest city before he was interned in 1940, when he openly opposed the national registration plan brought into being then by the federal government. He was released from internment last summer, and his victory today is an indication of the strong anti-conscription sentiment in this city, which is largely French-Canadian.

* * *

United Church Plans Service to Veterans

The war services committee of the United Church of Canada emphasizes the importance of setting up in each community committees which will have these functions: to arrange to visit the homes of men and women in the services regularly before they return; to offer rehabilitation assistance in addition to that given by the government, particularly in solving domestic problems; to transport next-of-kin to meet trains, if necessary; to arrange for women to stay with younger children while trains are met; to offer friendship, personal and group, to all returning personnel, including brides from overseas; to visit those who are hospitalized.

* * *

And So Forth

Cyril H. Adair has resigned as minister at Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Montreal island. He will conduct a campaign to raise an additional $3,500,000 for the pension fund of the United Church of Canada.

John M. Anderson, who before becoming a chaplain was pastor of the Presbyterian church in Port Elgin, Ont., has been awarded the military cross for conspicuous bravery in evacuating wounded soldiers under shell fire.

McGill University is cooperating with the Canadian Committee on Mental Hygiene to present an annual series of public "Lectures on Living," which will feature outstanding sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists. The first lecturer, Jan. 10, will be Ernest W. Burgess, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and a leading authority on the problems of marriage and the home.

DECOURCY H. RAYNER.

Hoosiers Seek Reform of Polls

Civic Groups Aroused by Reports that Many Were Disfranchised Nov. 7—Welfare Board Reform Urged

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 12.—Many Indiana citizens, regardless of political affiliation, are hoping that voter-registration reform will result from the investigations following the charges of wholesale inefficiency and corruption in connection with the presidential election. A week before the election, your correspondent was told by an Indianapolis newspaperman that thousands of people who held registration certificates would find on election day that their names were not on the precinct poll books. All day Nov. 7 hundreds of voters who did have this experience filled the courthouse corridors to secure writs of error; it is estimated that some 15,000 people were affected in the county. The situation has had no defense in any of the three newspapers of the city, one paper stating that the kindest thing to be said of it all is that it was due to inefficiency. Meanwhile, men from the Senate investigating committee have been at work on this and other cases in the state, and a public hearing is scheduled for Dec. 19. Indiana has lagged behind most states in safeguarding its machinery for the registration of voters.

* * *

Indiana Churches Plan for Veterans

The commission on the church and returning service personnel of the St. Joseph county (South Bend) council of churches has been carrying on an aggressive program under the leadership of Charles Tupper Baillie. A six-night seminar on this subject will be conducted in January in connection with the council's school of leadership education. Baptists of Indianapolis, reporting 2,067 members in the armed forces, are making plans to give counsel to returning service men in the fields of employment, law, mental adjustment and domestic relations.

* * *

Politics Threatens Welfare Setup

The Indiana league of women voters has been joined by other civic groups in opposing the proposal by a committee of the state legislature to create a three-member, full-time board to run the state welfare department. At present the board is composed of five members who meet monthly to lay down policies which are carried out by the executive head of the department. It does not function as an administrative body. The league favors placing the responsibility upon a single executive, in line with approved social service procedure. It condemns also the proposal that county welfare directors be taken from the merit system and be employed solely by county welfare boards.

Needless to say, citizens with social vision and with some knowledge of trends in welfare work are on the side of the league of women voters in this controversy. Politicians generally want a chance to control more jobs and are joined by many self-styled "practical" people who look with scorn on social service workers.

* * *

Weekday Schools Prosper In Fort Wayne

A successful weekday school program is being conducted by the Fort Wayne associated churches. The enterprise has 58 classes in all 22 of the city's public schools, with 1,707 pupils enrolled. More than 80 per cent of the third and fourth grade pupils of the city are enrolled. In some schools, 100 per cent of the pupils attend the classes.

* * *

Mission to Teachers Visits Indiana

Sixty Indiana communities were centers recently for the National Mission to Christian Teachers. Among those participating were Jesse M. Bader of New York city, E. G. Homrighausen of Princeton, Mary Alice Jones of Chicago, Lin D. Cartwright of St. Louis, Myron T. Hopper of Lexington, Ky., and John W. Rustin of Washington, D. C. It is generally agreed that these missions have contributed much toward helping local church leaders re-evaluate their tasks. Attendance was good.

* * *

Presbyterians Hold World Order Conferences

Participating in the series of world order conferences sponsored by Indiana Presbyterians in November were Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council's department of international justice and good will; Cleo Blackburn of Flanner House, Indianapolis; Conrad Hoffman of New York city; and Mrs. Howard Baumgartel of Indianapolis.

* * *

And So Forth

Ellis W. Hay, pastor of First Congregational Church here for the past 14 years and for two years president of the local church federation, has accepted a call to the pastorate of First Congregational Church, St. Louis, Mo.

Word has come to the United Christian Missionary Society (Disciples) here of the arrival in Canada of one of their missionaries, A. G. Henderson, who was captured by the Germans when the Zamzam was sunk en route to Africa, interned in Germany, escaped to Switzerland from a camp near Belfort, France, and after months in that neutral country left for Canada.

The Indiana Baptist convention has created a department of race relations.

The Indianapolis church federation through its committee on race relations is sponsoring a series of interracial vesper services on the third Sunday of each month.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

Cairo University Names New Head

John S. Bateau, formerly dean of the American University at Cairo, has been made president of that missionary institution. He succeeds Charles R. Watson, who retires Dec. 31. Dr. Watson has been president for a quarter of a century.

Soldiers Reject Anti-Alien Bill

Their Vote Gives Larger Ratio Against Colorado Intolerance Measure— Three Faiths Hold Service

(Correspondence from Colorado)

DENVER, Dec. 11.—After the recent election was over and the proposed anti-alien land bill (designed to prevent Japanese from owning property in the state) had been defeated, many people declared that when the soldiers' votes were counted the result would be reversed. Rather, the opposite was true. When that vote was counted, it was found that service men had cast their ballots against the measure by an even greater majority than was the case with civilians. Evidently they know what they are fighting for and do not want it denied at home while they are gone!

* * *

Thanksgiving Observed In Joint Service

Our city has a proud tradition in that for 40 years members of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths have joined in an annual Thanksgiving service in the municipal auditorium. This year the observation was sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews under the leadership of the local director, Max W. Burke. Chancellor Ben M. Cherrington of the University of Denver presided. Rabbi Julian Feibelman of Temple Sinai, New Orleans, spoke on "Building a Better World," declaring that peace cannot be permanent until every man can live in safety and security. Fr. Thomas Bowdern, president of Creighton University, Omaha, discussed "Building a Better Nation," and reminded his hearers that in observing Thanksgiving we celebrate an anniversary of dependence—dependence upon God. The Protestant representative, Marshall T. Steel of Highland Park Methodist Church, Dallas, Tex., dealt with "Building a Better Citizen," recalling that we must have personal convictions about national and world ideals. More than 2,000 citizens of the community shared in the service.

* * *

Marriage Clinic Is Popular

Phillip B. Gilliam, judge of the Denver juvenile court, determined to offer help to husbands and wives as a related service. No sooner had he announced that the new service was available than he was swamped with couples who wanted to talk things over. He has set aside two days each week to be devoted to marriage counseling. He declares, "I hope to get outside assistance on the clinic in the near future, and I think activities of this kind should be increased whenever possible."

* * *

Baldwin Calls Racism Major Issue

Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, in a conference with members of the Denver unity council declared that the United States is compromised by its racial practices. "The issue of racial equality before the law," he said, "has emerged as the major aspect of civil liberties, growing out of the impact of a war for democratic ends." He sees the Negro as waging a campaign for a two-way victory: over the Axis and over white prejudice. Half the population of the earth, he said, is aroused as never before to demand an effective part in world democracy.

* * *

Ely Culbertson Has Hearing

The Cooperating Congregations, consisting of eight downtown churches, recently sponsored a lecture here by Ely Culbertson. The vast auditorium of Temple Emanuel was filled to capacity to hear the speaker explain his world peace plan. Mr. Culbertson has little hope in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, declaring his conviction to be that they would fall of their own weight within one year after the end of the war. While he facetiously refers to himself as a "kept man," because bridge is his livelihood, he advocates his peace program like an old crusader; the audience carried away the impression that he is in dead earnest about his plan and has given it much thought.

* * *

And So Forth

Edgar M. Wahlberg, popular and efficient minister of Grace Community Church, is now in the thick of the confusion in Greece as a field worker with UNRRA. Just as in Denver, he is serving the children whatever the cost may be. He reports in a recent letter, "It was like a corner of a battlefield. Bullets whipped through the operating theater where surgeons were trying to carry on their work."

James L. Morrill, who came from the vice-presidency of Ohio State University to become president of Wyoming University a few years ago, has just been named chancellor of the University of Minnesota. He has made a fine contribution in the Rocky mountain area.

The ministers of Denver were present in large number for their December alliance meeting to hear representatives of the C.I.O. tell of the purposes and objectives of their organization.

The Presbyterian church building in the mountain community of Fairplay needed some repairs, and workmen could not be found. So Thomas Murray of First Avenue Presbyterian Church, Denver, and J. S. Dapp, field representative for the synod of Colorado, donned workmen's clothes and repaired the building.

The ministers' alliance of this city has made its own the statement of the Federal Council of Churches on compulsory military training, and a committee is at work on further findings on this important question.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Damage to British Church Property Is Announced

The London Missionary Society has announced that during the war the Church of England has had 163 churches completely destroyed and 1,289 damaged, while the Baptists and Congregationalists have had something like 800 each destroyed or damaged, and the Methodists 1,316.

Gambling Exists In Spite of Law

Annual Federal Tax List Reveals that Iowans Violate State Ruling—Liberal Arts Are Defended

(Correspondence from Iowa-Nebraska)

MOUNT VERNON, IOWA, Dec. 12.—The report of federal taxes on retail liquor licenses and gambling devices each year causes a wave of publicity in Iowa, since both private liquor sale and gambling violate the state law. The report always carries the amount and name of the taxpayer. Occasionally something is done about this open violation of the law in the state, but on the whole little happens. This year most of the newspaper space is taken up with the report that 2,524 gambling machines paid an average of more than $100 each into the federal treasury. Everybody knows that such devices are dishonest. They are generally dubbed "one-armed bandits." Yet a large crop of "suckers" is constantly available. More tears seem to be shed over the fact that millions of dollars go out of the state into the Chicago and Minneapolis syndicates which own the devices than over the effect of their presence on the character of youth. Many fraternal organizations and clubs are listed as owners.

* * *

Urge Expansion Of R.O.T.C.

The association of governing boards of state universities met in Iowa City this year, devoting much of its time to postwar educational policies. It passed a resolution against the one-year compulsory military training program contemplated at present by military authorities, but urged expansion of the R.O.T.C. as now set up in land grant colleges. The president of the association, R. W. Devoe, warned against federal control of general education and the boards passed a resolution accordingly, at the same time calling on the federal government to continue aid for specialized training and research, especially in the form of releasing surplus equipment now held for war purposes.

* * *

Colleges Stress Philosophy, Religion Anew

Faculties of liberal arts colleges in Iowa, making the most of the leisure provided by reduced enrollments, are busily engaged in examining their educational programs, in defense, perhaps, against the wartime demand for technical and specialized training. In the criticism and reorganization of programs, philosophy and religion promise to come in for more emphasis. At the state university a new curriculum has been put into effect this year, with philosophy and religion included in a set of core subjects required of all lower division students unless they can demonstrate by tests a sufficient competence. Everett Hall, head of the university's department of philosophy, led a discussion at the recent meeting of the Iowa Philosophic Society which centered on ways of making philosophy more helpful to both faculties and students in the criticism of values which must be a basic part of any liberal and modern education.

* * *

Methodists Attack Church School Problem

In a series of meetings, Methodists in the three Iowa conferences have launched their Crusade for Christ program. It is hoped that the chief local effect of the crusade will be a definite attack upon the church school problem, for it is reported that attendance at Iowa Methodist church schools has fallen off more than 14,000 in four years. A survey by the commission on Christian education, headed by Frank A. Lindhorst, has undertaken to learn the reasons and to set forth a program as part of the crusade.

* * *

Nisei Are at Home In Iowa

Over 500 Japanese-Americans have been relocated in Iowa. There was some friction at first, but there appears to be a good adjustment at this date. About 100 are now enrolled in colleges and universities of the state where they have been so well received and are so happily adjusted as to disarm all criticism. This year for the first time they have been admitted to the state college and the university.

* * *

And So Forth

Chilton Bennett leaves the St. Louis office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews to become vice-president of Drake University. President Harmon has recently announced gifts amounting to about $1,250,000, an unusual feature of which is that they seem to come from corporations rather than individuals.

E. J. Braulick has resigned from the presidency of Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa, to accept a pastorate at Seguin, Tex.

Vernon P. Bodein, new director of religious activities at Iowa State Teachers College, is heard every Friday afternoon at 4:15 over KXEL in a broadcast on religion in the news.

Charles L. Seasholes of First Baptist Church, Dayton, Ohio, is to be religious emphasis speaker at Iowa State College this year.

DeLoss Marken, on leave from College Avenue Church of Christ, Des Moines, is the first Iowa chaplain to return from extensive service at the front. His 30-day leave has been a busy one, for his division in Italy is made up of boys from Iowa and surrounding states.

The Methodist hospital service in Des Moines has been increased by the dedication of a new children's unit, costing $300,000, a gift of A. H. Blank, head of a chain of theaters, and his family in memory of a son.

ALBION ROY KING.

To Name New Head for Russian Church

January 31 has been set as the date for a meeting of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church at which a patriarch will be elected to succeed Sergius, recently deceased. It is expected that Acting Patriarch Alexei will become the permanent head of the church. It is only recently that the Holy Synod has been permitted to resume its duties, which were terminated as one effect of the Russian revolution.

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Growth in Youth Offenses Noted

Director of Society for Prevention of Crime Urges Support of Bill for a Correctional Authority

(Correspondence from New York State)

SYRACUSE, Dec. 12.—The greatest upsurge of crime in the history of New York will occur in the postwar period as a climax to wartime juvenile delinquency unless plans are immediately made for an enlightened policy of dealing with youthful offenders, according to a prediction made before the Rochester league of women voters by Edwin J. Lukas of New York, director of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. Mr. Lukas pointed out that while the population of the state increased only 30 per cent between 1920 and 1940, the prison population grew by 172 per cent, and expenditures for prison and parole service by 341 per cent. Since one-third of all persons committed to state correctional and penal institutions are between the ages of 16 and 21, he urged support for the legislation sponsored by Senator Desmond to establish a state correction authority, similar to the one in California. The bill to establish such an authority failed of passage in the last legislature but will be introduced again early in the coming session.

* * *

Commissioner Looks to Religion for Cure

Edwin R. Van Kleeck, assistant state commissioner of education, told 600 Onondaga county school teachers that we have attacked the problem of juvenile delinquency backwards and that the only way to solve it is by a return to vital religion. "The average Protestant church spends five times as much money on music as on religious education," he said, "but I have yet to learn of any souls being saved by the soprano soloist." He urged the teachers to cooperate with church efforts to promote weekday religious education classes on released time outside the public school buildings.

* * *

Rochester Federation Would Postpone Draft Action

The board of directors of the Rochester federation of churches has recorded its attitude toward postwar Selective Service in the following statement: "We recognize that the United States must accept its responsibility in maintaining world order, and that wartime conscription has proved to be a significant agent in maintaining democracy and fostering national unity. Therefore, we do not oppose in principle postwar Selective Service. However, such a measure presupposes careful study of all the factors involved, including our responsibility to other nations, the political, economic and social consequences of Selective Service in our own nation, and ways of safeguarding the spiritual nurture, the rights of conscience, and the least possible interruption in the educational program of selectees, and of relating the determination of the program to the development of world order. Pending such a study we regard any congressional action as premature."

* * *

Thomas, Holmes Call For Honest Peace

Norman Thomas recently made two addresses in Rochester, one at the Baptist Temple in which he dealt with issues growing out of the war. He expressed doubt that a world organization built solely on force can bring peace and order, and traced the weakness of the United Nations in the present crisis to their failure to speak to the hearts of mankind on peace and to set forth great principles around which victors and vanquished alike can rally. When asked about postwar compulsory military service, he replied that it is no answer to the problem of national safety or lack of employment in America any more than it has been in Europe for the last 75 years. The same week John Haynes Holmes told a Buffalo audience that unless the American people center their minds on the idea of establishing peace instead of thinking about the kind of punishment to be imposed upon Germany and Japan, we will lose everything for which we are fighting and sow the seeds of future conflicts.

* * *

Ministers Deplore Closing Door to Universalists

The Jefferson county ministerial fellowship at its December meeting in Watertown deplored the action of the Federal Council of Churches in not accepting the Universalist denomination's application for membership. The ministers adopted a unanimous resolution expressing their "very deep sorrow and profound regret, not unmixed with astonishment," at what had been done by the Federal Council, but also said: "We question not at all the deep Christian sincerity of the voting delegates and the sincerity of motive upon the part of those who had earlier voted directives which guided these delegates."

* * *

And So Forth

Herbert F. Goewey, director of the Wesley foundation at Harvard University, has been appointed to the pastorate of Trinity Methodist Church in Albany. He succeeds W. Earl Ledden, now bishop of the Syracuse area.

Ralph M. Carmichael, pastor of Lebanon Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, has accepted a position as director of Christian education for the Buffalo and Erie county council of churches.

George William Brown has resigned from the West Presbyterian Church of Binghamton because of ill health.

Henry E. Egger, curate of Trinity Episcopal Church, Buffalo, has been called to the Church of the Epiphany in Rochester.

WALTER D. CAVERT.

Churches Protest Insult To Veterans

Anonymous telephone calls, according to Religious News Service, were received by H. J. Maulbetsch, president of the Portland, Ore., council of churches, after the council had protested action of the American Legion post at Hood River, Ore., in removing the names of 16 persons of Japanese ancestry now serving in the army from its county war memorial.

Political Crisis Due in Australia

Liberal Party is Rising While Labor is Torn by Disputes—U. S. Election Result Closely Watched

(Correspondence from Australia)

MELBOURNE, Nov. 11.—Political portents are keeping forecasters busy here. For one thing, it appears likely that most of the non-Labor organizations will form a new Liberal party. Robert Gordon Menzies, now the head of the federal opposition and one of the ablest leaders that Australia has, will probably be in charge of the proposed new group, with which he hopes to secure a victory when the electors go to the polls in 1946. He plans to have the broadest possible basis for his party, with a great many of the "forgotten people" (rather than a few of the wealthy) as subscribers to its campaign funds. For him, the "forgotten people" are the members of the large so-called middle class—the salaried, the fixed-wage earners and the other persons on a stationary income. They have probably been hardest hit by wartime taxation and the increased cost of living. Some of the friends of Mr. Menzies feel that his time of exile from the position of prime minister (he resigned in 1941) has done much to improve both him and his prospects of success.

* * *

Labor Faces Split In Its Ranks

It is generally admitted in labor circles that the Curtin administration is entering upon a new and specially difficult phase of its career. Federal political thought is beginning to turn definitely to matters associated with the postwar period. Mr. Curtin may soon be faced with a serious cleavage between the country and the city members of his organization. The rural members, we are told, are alarmed at the slump in Labor stocks in their electorates, and are anxious to see their party rally the waning public support. But the industrial wing seems to be reasserting its militant tendencies, with demands for nationalization of the banks and the abolition of wage-pegging. These last named moves look so like the first steps toward disastrous inflation that public confidence in the present Labor administration is disturbed—a fact which may indirectly aid the new Liberal movement.

* * *

Grant Citizenship To Aborigines

In Western Australia the state parliament has passed an act making available full citizen rights to aborigines on certain conditions. Any adult native who has become detribalized, and can satisfy a magistrate that he has left his tribal habits for at least two years, and is living within the standards of white persons, can successfully claim the full rights of citizenship within that state of Western Australia. When this proposed legislation was being discussed, it was pointed out that some hundreds of these natives had enlisted with the armed forces and had made good

Being now in a transition stage, they should not be sent back to their native camps when they returned after their war service. The new act will help to lift them to a higher plane of civic and economic status.

* * *

Get Election News By Radio

In a way that has never happened before, the American election of a few days ago captured the interest of Australians. Special radio bulletins on our Wednesday, Nov. 8, gave us progress reports on the voting. Until the decision was actually clear, all public comment was scrupulously non-partisan. It was felt that while we had the right to be interested spectators, the question was after all one for the American people themselves to settle. Still, our citizens were given many articles on political affairs in the United States, ranging from high policy to voting machines, elephants and donkeys. This mass of information must have had some usefully educative effect upon our combined ignorance. However, now that your decision has been made, our newspapers and other commentators have made it clear that, without any hostility to Mr. Dewey, and probably without fully understanding the domestic side of the contest, Australians are glad at the result. There is to be, from their point of view, a known rather than an unknown President during the next four years.

* * *

Miners Refuse to Pay Fines

Our coal production, or the lack of it, is again in the news. Some New South Wales miners who have been fined for various alleged offenses, such as absenteeism, now refuse to pay. They declare that if any attempt is made by the authorities to obtain the fines by garnisheeing the men's wages, there will be more industrial trouble than ever. Mr. Curtin's present illness—he is not expected to be able to resume his public duties until next January or later—may interfere with the progress of important discussions between the government and the coal unions. Meanwhile, the federal cabinet has decided to set up an inquiry into the diseases to which miners are peculiarly subject.

* * *

Favor U. S.-British Mandate

A Gallup poll whose figures have just been released made inquiries from people in all parts of the commonwealth regarding postwar control of the islands lying between New Guinea and Japan. These are the steppingstones down which the Japanese invaders swept in the first rush of the Pacific war which carried them to Milne Bay and the Solomons. The plan most favored was joint control by the American and British governments, with perhaps other Allied nations also having a hand. The next largest group of those questioned desired British oversight, and then came a fairly considerable body of opinion that supported the idea of control by the United States alone.

* * *

Australian Missionaries See Task Near Home

The National Missionary Council of Australia, with headquarters in Sydney, is increasing its staff in anticipation of big postwar developments in southwest Pacific combined missionary enterprises. Facing in the same direction is the latest of the council's ministers' bulletins, which contains an article by Bishop G. H. Cranswick, chairman of the Australian Board of Missions (Anglican). He points out that Australia has during recent years achieved a new status of nationhood in her own right. He goes on to show that this new feeling of national importance should heighten our sense of moral and spiritual responsibility for giving leadership in affairs of the Kingdom within our particular sector of God's battleline. Without disregarding the obvious claims that Asia has upon us, he declares that Australia has an immediate and inescapable task of Christian trusteeship for the whole area from the Dutch East Indies to Fiji.

* * *

Natives' Interests Should Determine Policy

The noted Sydney professor of anthropology, A. P. Elkin, said last month in Brisbane that after the war Australian policy for its native peoples in the islands should be based on two principles: gratitude for the part played by these island peoples in protecting Australia from invasion and a determination to put first and keep first the interests of the natives themselves. He said it was essential that a two- or three-year period of pause and recuperation be observed in the native territories before the authorities put into operation any new plans for settlement and development involving either native labor or the alienation of land. In the future as in the past, missions would play a big part in the development of the islands, but it seemed to him only right that the administration should give greatly increased aid, particularly to the educational programs of the various mission boards.

* * *

And So Forth

Dr. J. W. Decker of the International Missionary Council, New York, is visiting this country for consultation with regard to missionary problems, more especially as these problems concern Australia's "near north" and the scattered island areas further east. He has been in conference with the National Missionary Council, and is expected in Melbourne next month.

ALLAN T. MCNAUGHTON.

Protestants Cooperate in Defense Area Ministry

A "wayside chapel," supported by the United Church Ministry, serves the 100,000 residents of the nation's largest defense housing development, located near Richmond, Calif. Starting 18 months ago with a staff of three, the enterprise has developed until there are 18 church services and 25 Sunday schools each Sunday in the 12 recreation centers of the unit. Conducting these services are 12 white and 6 colored ministers. Six parish workers successively call on each new family, with follow-up calls by a pastor if sufficient interest is indicated. The program is supplemented by visits to adjacent private trailer camps, where five Sunday schools and four weekday schools in religion are conducted. Leader of the United Church Ministry is Harold H. Henderson, Presbyterian missionary.

★

Jerusalem the Golden

ARTHUR W. HEWITT

This book should be read within the next few months. It speaks to our times and to our hearts. Thousands of families in the United States would like to know what can be known about their loved ones who have died on the battlefield and elsewhere. There is a wistfulness about immortality which is rising in its intensity. Dr. Hewitt writes with the convincing faith of a realist who has studied science and religion until he knows that personal immortality is possible. His subject is viewed from new angles and with deep feeling. His message is invaluable to all who are interested in the destiny of the soul.

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★

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LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD

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King Sustained On Conscription

Parliament Votes in a Special Session to Approve Sending Draftee Unit Overseas—Protest Follows

(Correspondence from Ontario)

TORONTO, Dec. 8.—Parliament met in special session Nov. 22 to consider the issue of conscription for overseas service. In the early morning of Dec. 8, after intense debate on this single issue, the government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King was sustained by a vote of 143 to 70. Parliament immediately adjourned until Jan. 31. The present issue was the culmination of a long series of events. The Canadian overseas army has been recruited by voluntary enlistment. Men of military age who did not so volunteer have been drafted for service, but only in Canada. Some 42,000 of them are available as infantry, of whom 16,000 can be fully trained for combat service in the near future. A plebiscite in 1942 authorized the government to send the draft army overseas if and when the voluntary principle should fail. This power was not used until the opening day of the special session, under pressure of a crisis which had been precipitated by the resignation early in November of the defense minister, Col. J. L. Ralston.

* * *

Ralston Says Draftees Are Needed Abroad

Following a tour of the Canadian army in Europe, Colonel Ralston had become convinced that 16,000 more reinforcements were immediately needed and that the draft army must be utilized. Failing to persuade the cabinet, he resigned. He was immediately replaced by Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, a supporter of the voluntary principle. An appeal by General McNaughton to draftees produced a large number of enlistments, but not sufficient to guarantee the 16,000 men needed. When Parliament assembled, Prime Minister King announced that an order in council had been passed making 16,000 of the draftees available for overseas service immediately. C. G. Power, minister for air, who represents a Quebec constituency, resigned, and a number of Quebec members crossed the floor of the house.

* * *

Opposition Votes Come From Two Quarters

Public response was immediate. Parades and demonstrations of protest were staged by units of draftees in various parts of the country, particularly in British Columbia. Colonel Ralston eased the pressure on the government by declaring that his point had been gained, and that he would support the government as the best way of maintaining uninterrupted support for the Canadian army in Europe. In the final vote C. C. F. and Social Credit members lined up with the government. The 70 opposition votes were made up of the Progressive Conservatives who were pressing for total conscription and the members from Quebec who opposed even the measure of conscription that the government had adopted. The five French-Canadian cabinet ministers and about half of the members of Parliament from Quebec supported Prime Minister King. A general election will be held when the term of the present Parliament expires next spring.

* * *

Church Publishing House Signs Union Contract

The United Church Publishing House, through its book steward, C. H. Dickinson, signed a collective bargaining contract Nov. 28 with representatives of the unions with which until that time there had been no agreement. In some departments of the publishing house, collective bargaining agreements have been in force for several years. This action carries out the direction of the last General Council of the United Church, and effects complete unionization of the publishing house. Present employees who are union members must retain their union membership as a condition of employment. Non-union employees under 60 years of age or having less than 20 years' service must join the contracting union within 30 days. New employees must be members of a contracting union or become members within 30 days after being employed. This agreement, which settles a controversy of many years, has been entered into with entire good will on both sides, and reflects credit on the negotiators for both labor and management.

* * *

United Church Launches Forward Movement

Jesse H. Arnup, newly elected moderator of the United Church of Canada, has called for a forward movement of ministers and people in a "New Crusade for Christ and His Kingdom," with a full-time director, an executive and a general committee. The program is to cover the period from Jan. 1, 1945, to Easter 1947. Its purpose is: (1) to rededicate the entire ministry and membership to their postwar tasks as a church; (2) to win to Christ and his church those not yet reached; (3) to enlist in the fellowship of the church returned service men and women and war workers; (4) to recruit an increasing number of candidates for the varied ministries of the church; (5) to help rehabilitate our country and its people in home, church, community, health, work and security; (6) to assist in building an enduring world order on spiritual foundations. Plans include special services and mass meetings; gatherings for prayer and fellowship; ministerial retreats; regional meetings for ministers, laymen, women, young people and Sunday school workers; preaching missions and visitation evangelism; religion and life weeks in city and country; personal and group evangelism; missions to congregations, universities and high schools; the issuing of literature; and use of radio and religious periodicals.

G. P. MACLEOD.

Renewed Student Brotherhood Is Discussed at Geneva

Hundreds of students from 22 countries spent three days in conference in Geneva recently, according to a cable from Suzanne de Dietrich of the World's Student Christian Federation office. They discussed plans for material, intellectual and spiritual reconstruction of universities affected by the war.

British Parties Look to Future

With Opening of Last Session of Parliament Near, They Begin to Formulate Policies

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Nov. 21.—The present Parliament is shortly to begin its last session; the king's speech, it is expected, will be followed by a debate which will be anything but formal. There is no faltering in the will to carry the war through to the end, but already the leaders of parties are thinking of after-the-war policy. There is little doubt now that the election, when it comes, will find Labor, Liberal and Conservative parties in the field with policies to offer to the nation, policies with much in common but with differences which are sure to grow wider as the election draws near. Mr. Assheton, newly appointed chairman of the Conservative party, made an important speech last week, in which he said that of the alternatives before the nation the best would be to have a strong government with the best men from all parties serving under a strong leader, and the strongest of all, Mr. Churchill, would be the best man to lead. But he recognized that, since the Liberal and Labor parties were making their preparations to nominate candidates with programs of their own, it would not do for the Conservatives to be unprepared. It looks, therefore, as if there will be three parties with programs to submit.

* * *

Labor Party Is Divided

Mr. Beveridge is doing much to give the Liberals both a program and a bold fighting spirit. Labor has its own left and right wings, but both are anxious for the most part to fight the election. There are strong men in that party—Herbert Morrison and Ernest Bevin, for example, who have been able loyally to serve in the present government; but others wish for a policy more thorough than the one propounded by Mr. Morrison. Some have never trusted the coalition; in fact these parties present a general picture not unlike that of churches—left, right and center in each; low, high and broad in each! There are cross sections to be observed, and they may play an important part in the summing up of the election.

* * *

Eddington's Death Recalls His Interest in Religion

The death of Sir Arthur Eddington removes from us, before his work was done, a very great scientist. When he was 30 years of age, Eddington was appointed Pluman professor of astronomy at Cambridge. There he remained until his death; he lived at the observatory and with that as his center made himself one of the masters in the new revolutionary study of physics. The relations between science and religion were of supreme interest to Eddington, and he found evidence to believe that the reconciliation between these two estranged studies was in sight. He was himself a member of the Society of Friends; in 1929 he delivered before that society the Swarthmore lecture on "Science and the Unseen World."

* * *

Children's Book Exhibits Inspire Comparison

The opening of exhibitions of children's books in New York and Washington has given rise to some pleasant discussions of possible candidates for the best teams from the American and the British sides. Sir Ernest Barker, a judge to be taken seriously, has suggested for the American side *Tanglewood Tales, Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn* and *The Last of the Mohicans.* I think I should like to see *Rudder Grange,* or another of the lost lines of Frank Stockton's books. But who is to decide upon children's needs and tastes? For the British side, Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll and Robert Louis Stevenson would at once be named. When they are selecting *The Jungle Book,* I am tempted to put in a plea for *Puck of Pook's Hill.* It is said quite rightly that the objection to "morals" does not come from the children themselves.

* * *

Islamic Center Is Planned

Last week the king visited the site set apart for the new central mosque and Islamic cultural center in London. It will be built in the outer circle of Regent's park. It cannot be constructed until after the war, but a large house which occupies part of the site has already been opened as a cultural center. The site has been presented by the government. There are already two smaller mosques in London and a large one at Woking. It has to be remembered that in the British commonwealth there are more Moslems than there are Christians, and London has more of that faith resident in its borders than any other western metropolis. The Moslems for which this center is provided come to London on many errands; they do not come to win London to their faith, nor is there any reason to look with anything but respect upon those who in an unfamiliar land keep the customs sacred to their people. The British empire has for its central principle the granting of freedom for all the many faiths professed by its many tribes and peoples.

* * *

Dean Tells Story Of Dr. Temple

Before the tributes to Dr. Temple, many in number and rich in gratitude and reverence, cease to be heard or to appear in the press, and before the more permanent records are before us in books, one passage may be welcomed from the beautiful words concerning his friend spoken in Lichfield Cathedral by the dean, F. E. Iremonger: "Dr. Temple had visited Lichfield, preached and dedicated the choir school. One of the choristers was alone in the sickroom. The headmaster asked Dr. Temple if he would just look in on him. 'Of course I will,' he replied at once. He signed his name in the boy's Bible and I can still see him smiling at the foot of the bed and bidding the boy good-night with a gentleness and a courtesy that were all his own. A few

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minutes later we left the schoolhouse and he asked for about half an hour's quiet in which to do some work. 'I must write my next broadcast,' he said. He took a writing block, while I sat, pretending to read but watching all the time the speed with which he poured out from the depths of his well stored mind words that were to be heard and weighed by millions."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Theological Terms In The Light of Modern Scholarship
By HAROLD SCOTT
50-page pamphlet 10c
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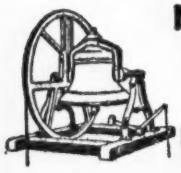
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Says Premature Aging not Curable

Psychiatrist Warns that Effect of War on Men Is Irremediable—Campaign Launched for Bible Society

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Dec. 15.—Boys who have been through the war will be prematurely aged, says Harold S. Hulbert, Chicago physician, psychiatrist and churchman, in a recent article in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. "In old age," writes Dr. Hulbert, "traits [of character] are lost in reverse order, e.g., the last acquired traits are the first lost, and the earliest acquired traits endure the longest. . . . Many ex-soldiers will be inadequate for routines they once performed. Some will make no progress in life. . . . Some will be overly sensitive to alcoholism or fevers or strain or excitement. Some will be restless and a few will seek excitement. Others will brood. Some will be private and public scolds. Many will desert and drift from home and job or duty. . . . There may be organic changes or there may be functional and perhaps local areas of brain cell exhaustion. . . . The condition is stationary. It is not reversible, because only scar tissue, not new brain cells, replaces areas of brain cell loss or total exhaustion. There is no specific medical treatment for these conditions which is curative."

* * *

Says World Organization Will Require Time

In all probability more than a decade will pass after the close of the war before any world organization can be set to functioning, said Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of The Christian Century, at a west side forum last Sunday. This lapse of time will be necessary, he said, to allow the hatreds and bitterness engendered by the war to cool. In the interim, the primary concern of churchmen should be to see that the administration of conquered and occupied lands be sane and constructive so as to contribute to the establishment of a world order. In Dr. Hutchinson's opinion, the Dumbarton Oaks agreements are inadequate but significant because such official actions set forces in motion which become focal centers of future actions. The church's responsibility for working toward a world order which will insure enduring peace and justice, even proximate justice, he said, rests upon its conviction that the sacrifice of so many lives must not be proved in vain, its awareness of the primacy of moral law in all areas of life, and its belief that only measures which convince mankind generally that they are serving the moral good of all can hope to succeed.

* * *

Campaign Launched by Bible Society

To provide Bibles and Scripture portions for men in service, for prisoners of war and for people in the liberated countries, the Chicago Bible Society, of which Robert Taylor is executive secretary, announced to a recent meeting of Chicago clergy the inauguration of its campaign for $300,000. This is Chicago's share of the $3,000,000 emergency fund of the American Bible Society. Scriptures for men now being inducted into service, said Dr. Taylor, are a continuing demand. He reported that the society is issuing the Bible in 35 languages to prisoners of war. Norway has had all paper for Bibles cut off and the editors have been sent to concentration camps. Germany, with a normal output of 390,000 Bibles annually, has had no Bibles printed for four years. The society contemplates the publication and distribution of nearly 11,000,000 Bibles or portions through the fund. The Chicago Bible Society, of which Orlando Ingvoldstad is president, has 4,000 active members.

* * *

And So Forth

The Chicago diocese of the Episcopal Church lost two prominent laymen the past month: Wirt Wright, treasurer of the diocese, and Henry Fowler, former president of the Church Club, lay organization of the diocese. Wright was also treasurer of Seabury-Western Theological Seminary and a member of the Illinois Housing Commission.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

The Conspirators (War.) *Melodrama.* Dutch underground leader's presence in Lisbon is chance for film of intrigue, counter-intrigue, set forth with traditional sinister devices, most of its cast familiar from "Casablanca," etc. Richly dressed, populated by spy after spy, filled with coincidence after coincidence. Properly and *tensely suspenseful;* so much so, in fact, as to give faint impression of being a burlesque of all Warner spy melodramas that have gone before. M, Y

The End of the Road (Rep.) *Melodrama.* Detective story writer, believing accused murderer innocent, sets up incidents which trap one he suspects is really guilty. Cheaply made, amateurish, but more convincing psychologically than many more polished efforts. *Fairly ingenious.* M, Y

Lost in a Harem (MGM) *Farce.* Abbott and Costello are hypnotized by potentate and made to do his bidding before they set things right for their beautiful companion and the lawful ruler. Mainly *dull,* since chances for comedy are for most part lost in stress on elaborate settings. M, Y

My Gal Loves Music (Univ.) *Farce.* Patent medicine faker outdoes vitamin corporation by entering protegée disguised as 12-year-old in radio singing contest. Spontaneous enough, *innocuous,* but based on unethical premise. M, Y, C

The V-1 (British Crown Film Unit) *Documentary* showing extent, examples of damage done by V-1 bombs to Britain's cities, people, morale. Accompanied by dramatic commentary, this is a good example of effectiveness of *vivid* documentary method. M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: The Adventures of Mark Twain, An American Romance, Going My Way, Home in Indiana, Madame Curie, Mr. Winkle Goes to War, The Sullivans, Wilson, Wing and a Prayer.

For Mature Audience: The Battle of the Marianas, Destination Tokyo, Double Indemnity, Dragon Seed, Gaslight, None but the Lonely Heart, 1812, Since You Went Away, The Seventh Cross, The Song of Bernadette, Summer Storm, Two Girls and a Sailor, Voice in the Wind. 12-27-44

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